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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1957 and 1958

EDITED BY
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सत्यमेव जयते

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1957 and 1958

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

By Dr Z. A. Desai

Before commencing the study of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions exhibited in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, I feel duty-bound to express my gratitude to Dr. Moti Chandra, Director of the Museum and Messrs S. N. Chatterjee and P. L. Gupta for their ungrudging co-operation extended to me in the course of preparation of this article.

The Museum has on its exhibit, twentyfive stone inscriptions, seven of which have been already published in this series sometime back.[1] Of the remaining eighteen records, four have been published with their plates : two by J. Bird and one by Shamsu'l-' Ulamā J. J. Modi in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay*,[2] and one by J. Burgess in one of his reports.[3] The last-mentioned had also published an eye-reading of one more inscription, translation of which was made by E. Rehatsek.[4] But these except the one published by Burgess in his report have been included in this article, since, in a sense they are complementary to some of the published inscriptions. Moreover, the two inscriptions published by Bird are epigraphed in *Kūfī* script and since there are two more *Kūfī* records in the present group, they are likely to offer comparative data for the students of palaeography. Further, Bird's readings and translations require corrections in some places as will be judged from their study given below. Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's study of the Rāja Māndhātā inscription (Inscription No. 11, *infra*) is no doubt very detailed and extensive but some of his own readings are not claimed by him to be final and also, it contains a few remarks and statements which require either correction or elucidation.

Like the Indian Museum, Calcutta, one of the special features that distinguishes this Museum from its other counterparts in India is that it possesses six epigraphs, all epitaphs, brought from outside the country of which four (Nos. 1-4) are inscribed in *Kūfī* script of different varieties. These are dated A.H. 326 (938 A.D.), A.H. 410 (1019 A.D.), A.H. 421 (1030 A.D.) and A.H. 472 (1080 A.D.), thus being few of the early stone records in Arabic available for study in this country. From our point of view, their historical value may not be much, as they were brought from foreign

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[1] *Epigrahia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1925-26, pp. 10-12 ; *ibid.*, 1929-30, pp. 5, 6 ; *ibid.*, 33-34 (Supplement), pp. 9, 12. A catalogue of all the inscriptions acquired till then was prepared by Ch. Muhammad Ismail and published in 1925.

[2] J. Bird, ' Arabic Inscriptions in the Kufic character ', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*JBBRAS*), vol. I, pp. 239-241 ; J. J. Modi, ' A Persian Inscription of the Moghal times etc.' *ibid.*, vol. XXIV (1914-17), pp. 173, 533.

[3] J. Burgess, *Report of the first season's operations in the Belgam and Kadagi districts* (London, 1874), p. 5.

[4] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII (1883), pp. 88, 206.

countries, but they are very interesting on palaeographical grounds. Their styles of writing display various phases of the *Kūfī* script, the variety known as ornamental *Kūfī* having been employed in three inscriptions and the variety called plain *Kūfī* in the remaining one. This group is thus an unique collection in the sense that no other museum in India possesses dated inscriptions executed in this script except perhaps the Indian Museum, which exhibits two such records.

The other two foreign records in the Museum, also epitaphs, are also interesting on account of their calligraphy, which is *Naskh* of a fairly good type. One of the two (No. 5) is complete and belongs to the second half of the 12th century. The other (No. 6) is fragmentary, the portion containing the obituary notice being lost, but close similarity in the styles of writing employed in both these epitaphs leave little room for doubt that it also belongs to the same period, that is to say, second half of the 12th century.

This leaves out eleven inscriptions which were originally found in different localities of the Bombay State. It is a matter of regret that no complete information regarding the exact findspots of some of them is available ; in the case of a few, even the localities are not known to us, which in a way detracts from their historical value. It is a pity that the importance of these inscriptions as sources for the history of certain parts of Bombay has been overlooked so far. From whatever information it has been possible to gather, it appears that three inscriptions were originally found in Galna fort, two that were lying in the District Judge's office at Thana prior to their removal to Bombay are most probably from Maholi near Kalyan, while three came from Ankai in the Nasik district. The Galna inscriptions are dated in the last quarter of the tenth century Hijra, thus representing the Niẓām Shāhī rule, though only one of these mentions, by implication only, that dynasty. The Maholi inscriptions dated in the reign of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb are quite important records relating to the history of this fort which had for sometime changed masters — Mughals and Marathas — rather quickly. The Ankai inscriptions also bear dates which fall in the reigns of Aurangzeb and his son and successor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh whose mural records that have come to light are very few in number.

While on one hand, these records thus promise to be helpful for the local history of their findspots, on the other, they mention some officers or governors who, despite their having occupied positions of some importance, are not fortunate enough to claim notice in historical works. Without going into much details, we may, for example, note that one of these records (No. 11) gives some more details of the career of Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhātā Gopāl Dās Goṛ whose family had rendered valuable services to Shāh Jahān when the latter was yet a prince. It may be recalled that it was only an epigraphic record from Asirgaḍh fort in Central India that mentioned for the first time Manohar Dās, as has been shown in its proper place in the course of this article. Similarly, two and probably three inscriptions, owe their existence to Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, who has no doubt been mentioned by the author of the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, but the Maholi record furnishes new or somewhat detailed information regarding his career. His deputy Faqīrā Baig and *Mushrif* Santokh Rāi have left their names to posterity, thanks to the existence of these records only.

There is one more epigraph in this group (No. 7) which is worth mentioning before we pass on to the study of the individual inscriptions. Dated A.H. 779 (1377 A.D.), that is to say, towards the close of the Tughluq period, it forms the earliest of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Museum belonging to this country. Unfortunately, its locality, much less its findspot, is unknown. But it is very likely that it originally belonged to some place on the Western Coast of our country. Another thing worth notice in this inscription is that it is a bilingual record : the Arabic version which is in verse is followed by a Marathi record, which is sure to prove of some linguistic interest.

(*a*) Epitaph in Kufic, dated A. H. 326, from a Foreign Country (p. 3)

Scale : ·22

(*b*) Another Kufic epitaph, dated A. H. 421, from Southern Arabia (p.6)

Scale : ·18

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This epigraph, which forms the earliest record of the group, is an epitaph stating that a lady named Fāṭima, daughter of Ismā'īl and grand-daughter of Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī, expired on the 7th Ramaḍān, A.H. 326 (9th July, 938 A.D.). Bird has discussed at some length the historical importance of this record, repitition of which, here, is perhaps not necessary.[1] He had also published transcript and translation of this epitaph, along with its facsimile, and his reading is correct to a fairly great extent. My reading given below differs from it in some places as indicated in the footnotes. The inscriptional tablet is in the shape of an arch, measuring in its present condition about 3′ from apex to bottom and is 1′6″ in width. The text is executed in *Kūfī* characters in low relief which are plain and without any ornamental flourishes. A narrow thick-lined border running along about two-third part of the stone contains a famous verse from the *Qur'ān* usually found in epitaphs also in India.[2] This epitaph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(*a*) *Borders.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم

(*b*) *Main portion.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم

(٢) ارحم امتك و بنت عبديك فا

(٣) طمة ابنت اسمعيل بن [3]ابرهيم المزنى

(٤) فانها كانت تشهد ان لا اله الا انت و

(٥) ان محمد عبدك و رسولك [4]صل ا

(٦) لله عليه و سلم مقرة [5]بوحدانتك

(٧) [6]معترفة بربوبيتك لم تزل فقيرة الى [7]ر

(٨) رحمتك محتاجة إلى مغفرتك و قد

---

[1] Bird, op. cit., pp. 239-241 ; M. Ismail, *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Epigraphical Gallery* (Bombay, 1925), p. 1, no. E. (1).

[2] The border portions of the text have been partially covered by the wooden frame in which the slab is set.

[3] Bird, op. cit., p. 242, reads "ابراهيم".

[4] Thus on the stone. Bird reads "صلى".

[5] Thus on the stone. Bird reads "لوحدانيتك".

[6] Bird's reading "معترقة" is probably a misprint.

[7] Thus on the stone.

(٩) اسلمها اليک [1]الاسخيا ؟ و خلاص الا

(١٠) وليا و انفردت من [2]الا على و اوحشت

(١١) بفقدها منازل الاحيا و آنست بجو

(١٢) ارها الموتى و نات عن المزار و بعد

(١٣) ت عن الديار و حالت عن الاهل و المال

(١٤) اللهم اغفر خطيتها و تجاوز عن

(١٥) سيئتها و [3]افتتح ؟ لها فى حفرتها و كن نها

(١٦) فى وحدتها و الحقها بنبيها محمد

(١٧) عليه [4]السلم توفيت رحمها لله يوم ا

(١٨) [5]لاثنين [6]لسبع خلون من شهر رمضان سنة

(١٩) ست و عشرين و ثلثماية

TRANSLATION

(*a*) 'Allāh (Himself) is witness that there is no God save Him. And the angels and the men of learning (too are witness). Maintaining His creation in justice, there is no God save Him, the Almighty, the Wise '.[7]

(*b*) (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. O Lord,

(2) have mercy on Your creature (who is) the daughter of Your two creatures (namely),

(3) Fāṭima, daughter of Ismā'īl, son of Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī,

(4) who was professing that there is no god but you and

(5) that Muḥammad is Your creature and prophet, may

(6) God's peace and blessings be upon him[8] ; (who was) the one to declare Your unity

---

[1] Bird only gives "الا".

[2] Bird reads "الاخلاء".

[3] Bird reads "اوسع".

[4] Thus on the stone. Bird reads "السلام".

[5] Bird reads "يوم الاحد".

[6] Bird has "تسع" (ninth), while in the translation, he gives 'sixth day'.

[7] *Qur'ān*, ch. III, v. 18.

[8] Bird, op. cit., p. 241, has 'her'.

Epitaph in Kufic, dated A. H. 410, from Persia (p. 5)

(*a*) On the sides of the sarcophagus

SCALE : ·07

(*b*) On the upper facet of the sarcophagus

SCALE : ·15

(7) who was acknowledging Your Lordship, who was always in need of

(8) Your mercy and in want of Your pardon. And

(9) indeed . . . . and sincerity (?) of friends have entrusted her to You,

(10-13) and she was made to depart . . . . . . and due to whose absence, the abodes of the living have become sad and the dead have become joyous on account of her proximity, and she has turned away from this world and has gone far from human habitation and has abandoned family and property.

(14) O Lord, pardon her faults and overlook her

(15) shortcomings and make her comfortable in her grave and be with her

(16) in her solitude and join her to her prophet Muḥammad,

(17) may peace be on him ! She died, and may God have mercy on her, on

(18) Monday, when seven days had passed from the month of Ramaḍān (of the) year

(19) six and twenty and three hundred (7th Ramaḍān, A.H. 326-9th July, 938 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The other inscription which is also an epitaph is engraved on a sarcophagus which is said to have originally come from Persia but from which part of that country, it is not known. The sarcophagus is a single rectangular block of yellow sandstone surmounted by a replica of the grave as we find in the cases of the tombs in India. The record is in two parts : the portion comprising only religious texts is inscribed on the four sides of the sarcophagus, running from the headside ; comprising the famous Quranic verse on the immortality of God, this text is executed in ornamental *Kūfī* of an intricate pattern whereby, the shafts of the letters carved in prominent relief with boldness of shape and outline, have been so interwoven as to produce a motif of floral design. The other part of the record is engraved in relief, in plain *Kūfī* with light ornamental flourishes, on the upper facet of the same tier, and contains the third last chapter of the *Qur'ān* followed by on obituary notice of one ʻ Alī who passed away in the month of Rajab, A.H.410 (November, 1019 A.D.). In the style of writing of this portion, it will be observed that the designer has not differentiated between the letters "ن" and "ر". Thus, in this one inscription, we have specimens of both the types of *Kūfī* writing of a fairly high order.

This inscription which is not published so far as my knowledge goes, has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (a & b)

(*a*) *Sides of the sarcophagus.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذوالجلال و الاكرام

صلى الله على محمد و آله

(*b*) *Upper facet of the same.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا

احد و اغفر لعبدك هو المحتاج الى رحمتك على بن [1]ينان ؟ بن عيسى المتوفى رجب سنة

عشرة و اربع ماية

[1] I am not certain of the reading of this word.

TRANSLATION

(*a*) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'Everyone that is thereon will pass away; There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory.'[1] May God's blessings be upon (His prophet) Muḥammad and his descendants.

(*b*) 'Say: He is Allāh, the One! Allāh the eternally Besought of all! He begotteth not, nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him.'[2]

And (O Lord), forgive your slave who is in need of Your mercy, namely, 'Alī, son of Yanān? son of 'Īsā who died in (the month of) Rajab, year ten and four hundred (Rajab, A.H. 410=November, 1019 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This inscription is also executed in *Kūfī* of the ornamental variety. The inscriptional tablet, with a cone-shaped upper part, measures 3′ from apex to bottom, is 2′ wide and 2½″ thick. Nothing definite is known regarding its original findspot, but according to the Museum authorities, it seems to have been brought from Southern Arabia like the majority of the *Kūfī* inscriptions.[3]

The left part of the tablet towards the base is broken without, however, affecting the text much. A narrow border running around the three sides of the slab is inscribed with two verses from the chapter "الانبياء" of the Holy Quran. The main record begins with *Bismillāh* after which comes another verse from the same chapter and one more from the chapter "المومنون". This is followed by the epitaph proper recording the demise of the wife of one Suḥlam, son of 'Umāra al-Hadhārahī, who expired on Sunday, the 10th Shawwāl, A.H. 421 (11th October, 1030 A.D.). It is further recorded, provided of course my reading is correct, that her male child was also interred in the same grave; in which case, it is not unlikely that she had died of child-birth.

It will be seen from the plate that while the calligraphy of this epigraph is also an ornamental variety of the *Kūfī* script, as in the case of the previous record of approximately the same period, the style of ornamentation is different; it is not so ornate and heavy as in the former. For the rest, however, there is not much difference in the designs of the letters proper.

This inscription is also unpublished and I have read it as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (*b*)

(*a*) *Borders.*

ان الذين سبقت لهم منا الحسنى اولئك عنها

مبعدون و لا يسمعون

حسيسها و هم فيها اشتهت

انفسهم خالدون

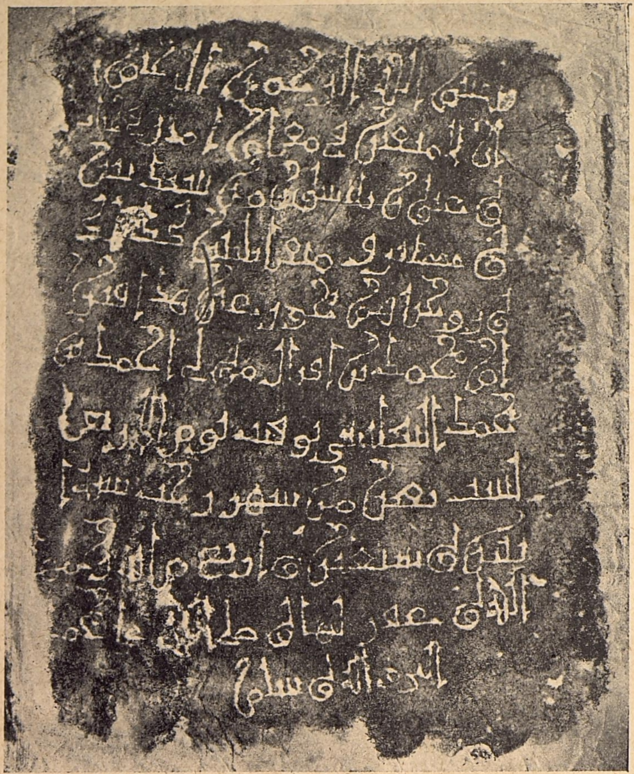
---

[1] *Qur'ān*, ch. LV, vv. 26-27.

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. CXII.

[3] Ismail, op. cit., p. 1, E. (3).

(*a*) Epitaph, in Kufic, dated A. H. 472, from Southern Arabia (p. 8)



Scale : ·3

(*b*) Epitaph, dated A. H. 563, from Aden (p. 10)

Scale : ·25

(*c*) Fragmentary Epitaph (p. 12)

Scale : ·25

(*b*) *Within the borders.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) و قل رب انزلنى منزلا مباركا

(٣) و انت خير المنزلين وما جعلنا لبشر

(٤) من قبلك الخلد افان مت فهم الخالدون

(٥) هذا قبر

(٦) ام ولد سحلم بن عمارة الهذار

(٧) هى و ولدها فى القبر توفيت يوم

(٨) الاحد لعشر خلون من شوال

(٩) سنة احد و عشرين و اربعما

(١٠) يه رحمها الله و غفر لهما رحم

(١١) الله من قال آمين و صلى الله

(١٢) على محمد النبى و آله وسلم كن[1] [لها ؟]

TRANSLATION

(*a*) 'Lo ! those unto whom kindness hath gone forth before from Us, they will be far removed from thence. They will not hear the slightest sound thereof, while they abide in that which their souls desire.'[2]

(*b*) (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

(2) 'And say : My Lord ! Cause me to land at a blessed landing-place,

(3-4) for Thou art best of all those who bring to land.'[3] 'And we appointed immortality for no mortal before thee. What ! if thou diest, can they be immortal ?'[4]

(5) This is the grave of

(6) the mother of the son of Suḥlam, son of 'Umāra al-Hadhāra-

(7) hī and her son is (also interred) in the grave. She died on

(8) Sunday, (when) ten days had passed from (the month of) Shawwāl,

---

1 The reading of the word "كن" appears to be quite certain to me, while the word in the brackets is supplied through conjecture.

2 *Qur'ān*, ch. XXI, vv. 101-02.

3 *Ibid.*, ch. XXIII, v. 29.

4 *Ibid.*, ch. XXI, v. 34.

(9) year one and twenty and four hundred (10th Shawwāl, A.H. 421=11th October, 1030 A.D.).

(10) May God have mercy on her and pardon both (and also)

(11) may He show mercy to those who say Amen ! And God's blessing

(12) be on Muḥammad, the Prophet, and his progeny, and (His) salutations (also). Be (with her).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

The fourth inscription, dated A.H. 472 (1080 A.D.), is also in ornamental *Kūfī*. The inscriptional slab measuring 12″ by 16″ is reported to have been discovered along with No. 1 above in some graveyard in Southern Arabia.[1] Unlike in the case of the previous inscriptions, here the letters are incised on the uneven surface of the stone, but they are fairly clear. The style is ornamental *Kūfī* no doubt, but there is not so much of ornamentation as will have been noticed in the previous epigraphs. Apart from this, a definite trend in change of script is visible, especially in the shape of letters, which are becoming slightly more curved than before.

The record comprises eleven lines of writing of which almost five are devoted to an extract from the Holy Quran. The remaining mention the demise of a lady whose name is not given but who is spoken of as the mother of Muḥammad, son of Iqbāl. This latter[2] is mentioned in the inscription as a client of one Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad at-Tiflīsī. The lady had passed away on the 24th Rajab, A.H. 472 (20th January, 1080 A.D.).

This is the second inscription of which, as referred to above, Bird had published the text along with its translation and facsimile. As in the case of the inscription No. 1, he has dwelt upon at some length on the historical importance of this epigraph also and hence it would not be perhaps advisable to repeat the same.[3] Moreover, from our view point, its palaeographical aspect is more important than the historical one.

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) ان المتقين فى مقام امين فى جنات

(٣) و عيون يلبسون من سندس

(٤) و [ا]ستبرق متقابلين كذلك

(٥) و زوجناهم بحور عين ٥ هذا قبر

(٦) ام محمد بن اقبال مولى احمد بن

---

[1] Ismail, op. cit., p. 1, no. E. (2).

[2] Bird, op. cit., pp. 239, 243, takes the deceased herself to be ' an emancipated slave '.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 239-41.

(٧) محمد التفليسى توفيت يوم الاربعا

(٨) لست[1] بقين من شهر رجب سنة ا

(٩) ثنين[2] و سبعين و اربع مايه رحمها

(١٠) الله و غفرلها و صلے الله على محمد

(١١) النبى و آلـه و سلـم

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) ' Verily, the pious shall be lodged in a place secure, amid gardens

(3) and water-springs, attired in silk

(4) and silk-embroidery, facing one another. Thus shall it be.

(5) And We shall espouse them unto fair damsels with wide black eyes.'[3] This is the tomb of

(6) the mother of Muḥammad, son of Iqbāl, the client of Aḥmad, son of

(7) Muḥammad a't-Tiflīsī. She died on Wednesday,

(8) when six days were remaining in the month of Rajab, year

(9) two and seventy and four hundred (24th Rajab, A.H. 472=20th January, 1080 A.D.). May God have mercy on her

(10) and pardon her and may God's blessings and peace be on

(11) the Prophet and his descendants !

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The next epigraph is also an epitaph reported to have been recovered in the last quarter of the 19th century from one of the disused burial grounds at Aden and brought to Bombay where it lay in the Victoria and Albert Museum prior to its removal to this Museum in 1924 A.D.[4] This elegantly executed record is engraved in relief on the uneven surface of a hard black stone measuring about 9″ by 19″, which is undressed except in the front surface. At the top of the slab is carved a floral design within an arch resembling a miḥrāb.

Burgess who noticed this record in 1883, had supplied its transcript to E. Rehatsek who rendered it into English. Both the text and translation were published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 243, has "است" which is obviously a misprint.

[2] *Ibid.*, has "اثنتين".

[3] *Qur'ān*, ch. XLIV, vv. 51-54.

[4] Ismail, op. cit., p. 1, no. E. (4).

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., pp. 88, 206.

But as it has not been illustrated, it is being published here with the facsimile so that the palaeographists may have an idea of its style of writing which is *Naskh* of a fairly good order. The *Kūfi* is found here replaced by *Naskh*, though the former did continue to be employed in epitaphs as may be seen from the inscription stored in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which is dated A.H. 581.[1] The inscription under study records the death of a lady, the mother of 'Abdu'llāh who[2] was the client of Sulṭān Yaḥyā bin Abi's-Sidād al-Muwaffaq a'th-Thaghari al-Islāmī ; the lady had died in her middle age[3] on the last day of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 563 (8th July, 1168 A.D.). The epigraph was inscribed by Muḥammad, son of Barakāt bin Abī Ḥaramī. It will have been observed that this is the only inscription in the group of the foreign inscriptions which gives the name of the scribe.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

(٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٤) خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٥) رحلت و كنت ما اعددت زادا   و ما [4]قصرت فى زاد المقيم

(٦) [5]فهانا قد رحلت بغير زاد   و لكنى نزلت على كريم

(٧) هذا قبر الحرة

(٨) الفاضلة ام عبد الله [6]مولاه السلطان

(٩) الاجل يحيى بن ابى السداد الموفق الثغرى

(١٠) الاسلامى توفيت[7] بعوان آخر يوم من شهر

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement,* 1955 & 56, pl. I(a).

[2] The text has ''مولاه''. The word ''مولى'' means 'master' and also 'slave' freed or unfreed. The feminine form of this word is rarely, if at all, used and hence the term client or slave must refer to 'Abdu'llāh and not to his mother as stated in the *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit.

[3] The phrase ''توفيت بعوان'' in the original has been translated in the *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit., as 'she died at 'Awān' which is stated to be 'perhaps the old name of Aden itself'.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit., p. 206, gives ''قصدت''.

[5] *Ibid.*, has ''فها انا'' which may be a misprint.

[6] *Ibid.*, has ''مولاة'' female form of ''مولى''. See also note 2 above.

[7] The published text in *ibid.* gives ''لعله عدن'' after ''بعوان''. Rehatsek who did not have the facsimile before him, states : 'I translate the transcript as sent to me by Dr. Burgess, although it is not likely that the words ''لعله عدن'', written in parenthesis, constitute a part of the epitaph also on the stone. Whether any other additions or changes have been made by the scribe I cannot say' (*ibid.*, f.n. 1). Also see f.n. 3 above.

(۱۱) رمضان من سنة ثلاث[1] و ستين و خمس ماية

(۱۲) رحمها الله نقشه محمد بن برکات بن ابی حرمی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) 'Their Lord gives them good tidings of mercy from Him and acceptance,

(3) and of gardens wherein lasting pleasures will be theirs ;

(4) there they shall abide for ever. Verily, with Allāh there is immense reward.'[2]

(5) (Verse :) I departed and had not been able to prepare provision (for the last journey), though I did not spare efforts (to prepare) an everlasting provision.

(6) And now I have departed without any provision whatsoever, but (I have no fear, since) I have alighted before the munificient (Lord).[3]

(7) This is the tomb of the free

(8) and accomplished lady, the mother of 'Abdu'llāh, whose master is the

(9) glorious Sulṭān Yaḥyā, son of Abi's-Sidād al-Muwaffaq a'th-Thaghari al-Islāmī. She died in her middle age on the last day of the month of

(11) Ramaḍān of the year three and sixty and five hundred (30th Ramaḍān, A.H. 563=8th July, 1168 A.D.),

(12) may God have mercy upon her ! Carved by Muḥammad, son of Barakāt, son of Abī Ḥaramī.

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This inscription, also an epitaph, is fragmentary, about half the portion of the slab having been lost. Not only is the inscriptional tablet of the same type of stone and more or less of the same shape as in the case of the previous record, but there is also a very close similarity between the styles of writing of both the epigraphs. Moreover, the extant portion of the text of the present inscription begins with the same Quranic verse as is found in the previous epigraph. Consequently, we would not be far from truth in assigning the same date, viz., second half of the 6th century A.H. to this inscription. The slab, in its present condition, measures about 9″ to 17″.

Below is given the reading of the surviving portion. It is not necessary to give the translation, as the extant text comprising verses 21-22 of Chapter IX of the *Qur'ān*, followed by the words 'this is the grave of' has already been translated above.

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[1] *Ibid.*, has "ثلاثة".

[2] *Qur'ān*, ch. IX, vv. 21-22.

[3] Another like fragment, found in epitaphs, is more eloquent in appeal. It runs as follows :—

"وفدت على الكريم بغير زاد   من الحسنات و القلب السليم

فحمل الزاد اقبح كل شئ   اذا كان الوفود الى الكريم"

TEXT

Plate III (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

(۳) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين

(۴) فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر

(۵) عظيم

(٦) هذا قبر ا[لفاضلة ؟]

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

This epigraph, as has been referred to above, is the earliest of the Indo-Muslim inscriptions displayed in the epigraphical gallery of the Museum. The slab of marble (24″ by 20″ by 2″) which contains the inscription in two languages is damaged and has also cracked. The other side of the stone bears the Portuguese Coat of Arms which shows that the Portuguese, having removed the stone from its original position, got their insignia engraved on the back and fixed the slab into the wall of some building of their own with mortar. That is why the front portion bearing the original inscription has become disfigured to such an extent that the Arabic version which was carved in relief is not legible. This version comprises four verses inscribed in four lines in eight panels that have been nicely carved in the middle of the upper part of the stone. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly high but an intricate type whereby the letters are put one upon another which has also partly made the inscription illegible. I have not been able to decipher this portion and any suggestions for the reading of the same will be greatly welcome.

Below this is incised the *Nāgarī* version running throughout the lower one-fourth portion of the slab in three lines. Its letters are in better or rather almost perfect state of preservation, probably because they were incised and not carved in relief. According to Mr. Ismail, the *Nāgarī* version 'indicates that a lady by name Khadīja died on the 15th of the month of Ṣafar A.H. 889=A.D. 1484'.[1] This is definitely incorrect as will be seen presently.

I do not consider myself competent enough to say anything more definite about this version. But from whatever tentative reading I have prepared, it appears that on the second *prahara* of Saturday, 15th Ṣafar, A.H. 779 (23rd June, 1377 A.D.), Nākhudā Ghafūr, son of Nākhudā Aḥmad, known as Chhimkhorā departed to the last abode. If we can judge from the language of the record which is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati and bound to be of considerable interest to linguists as such, the slab must have been found from somewhere on the Western coast in the part bordering on Gujarat, *i.e.*, somewhere to the north of Bombay.

I have prepared the following reading of this version :—

TEXT

Plate IV (*a*)

(१) हिजरत ७७९ याहे मासु सफरु तेरीक १५ सणवारा

[1] Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E. (7).

(*a*) A bilingual Epitaph, dated A. H. 779 (p. 12)

Scale : ·18

(*b*) Inscription of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh from Galna, dated A. H. 977 (p.13)

Scale : ·12

(*c*) Undated inscription (p. 27)

Scale : ·25

(२) तेया दिसी पहारां दोहांमां गप्रो[1] नाखुश्रा[2] हिबनि[3] श्राहाम

(३) द नाखुश्रा[4] श्रळमारुफ छिमखोरा श्राखिरते गेळे

TRANSLATION

(1) Month Safar of the Hijra year 779, day 15, Saturday (23rd June, 1377 A.D.);

(2) on this day, in the second *pahar* (*i.e.*, *prahara*), Gapro (*i.e.*, Ghafūr ?) Nākhuā, son of Ahama-

(3) da (*i.e.*, Aḥmad) Nākhuā, known as Chhimkhorā, went to (his) last abode.

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

This is a bilingual inscription bearing the date A.H. 977 (1569-70 A.D.) or Śaka 1491. The slab of stone which measures 2′2″ by 1′8″ by 11″ is reported to have been sent with two others, to the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from Galna Fort by A. Richardsone who visited it in about 1856.[4] The tablet was found between the two central arches on a bastion situated in the wall of the fort at about two-thirds of the length from the east.[5]

Almost the whole portion of the slab is occupied by the Persian record comprising three verses inscribed in three lines and purporting that a bastion was constructed for the king, whose name does not occur in the text, under the supervision of Aflāṭūn Khān.[6] The quality of the verses is mediocre and the last hemistich which forms the chronogram is not very clear in its meaning. Then there are two words written beneath the name Aflāṭūn which mean ' under the supervision of '. The style of writing is *Naskh* of an ordinary type.

Below the Persian version is incised an inscription in one line in *Nāgarī* characters but since that part of the slab is partially covered by the wooden frame in which it is set, only upper half of the text has come on the estampage. It probably bears the date Śaka 1491 and contains the name of Aflāṭūn ; more than this could not be ascertained.[7]

The Persian version has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IVb

(۱) بنا بنهاد خان حکمت اندیش — درین قلعه ز بهر شه منازل

(۲) مرتب شد ز بهر شاه برجے — که نامش گشته فتحی برج حاصل

(۳) ز هوشی جستمش تاریخ گفتا — بفتح برج افلاطون عادل

درکار کرد سنه ۹۷۷

---

[1] Probably this is a corrupt form of "गफुर".

[2] Corruption of "नाखुदा".

[3] Obviously "इब्ने".

[4] Richardsone, *JBBRAS*, vol. VI (1861), pp. 143-45, has in the course of a detailed description of the fort given brief particulars about these three inscriptions. His account has been reproduced in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI, Nasik (Bombay, 1883), pp. 436-38 ; see also Ismail, op. cit., p. 3, no. E. (10). There are a few more inscriptions *in situ* in the Galna fort which belong to this period.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

[6] There are at least two more inscriptions in the Galna fort which mention Aflāṭūn as the builder of a step-well and the city-wall with a bastion made of stone in the year A.H. 978.

[7] These remarks on the *Nāgarī* version are by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

TRANSLATION

(1) The far-sighted Khān laid the foundation, in this Fort, of buildings[1] for the king.

(2) For the sake of the king was constructed a bastion for which the name Fatḥī Burj has been obtained.

(3) I sought the year of its construction from Hūshī who said, ' (it can be obtained from the words) *Fatḥ Burj constructed under the supervision of Aflāṭūn the just*'. Year 977 (A.H.=1569-70 A.D.).

The date A.H. 977 is inscribed in figure, while it is also obtained by adding up the numerical value of the letters constituting the last hemistich ; the words inscribed below the name Aflāṭūn are not to be counted in the chronogram, though these have been taken as part of the hemistich in translation.[2]

The name of the king is not mentioned in the inscription, but it is apparent that Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar in whose reign the date of the record falls is referred to in the inscription, as Galna was under the Ahmadnagar king at that period. Moreover, the other inscription from the Galna fort studied hereafter refers, by implication, to the Niẓām Shāhī rule and since it is dated only eight years later, it is only reasonable to hold the view that the king referred to in the present inscription is none other than Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh I. As regards Aflāṭūn Khān or Hūshī the composer, I have not been able to gather any information.

INSCRIPTION NO. 9

Like the previous inscription, this one is also bilingual. Fragmentary and slightly damaged, it records the construction of some building on the 1st Rabī' II, A.H. 985 (18th June, 1577 A.D.). This is perhaps the same epigraph which Richardsone had removed from Galna fort and presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Its exact findspot etc., can be judged from the following description of Richardsone himself : ' The second slab was taken from a niche between the battlements fronting the north and surmounting a row of cellars which .... must have been intended for residences .... The slab contained an inscription in the Devanagari character, dated Saka 14——, and below it[3] were four lines in Persian to the effect that the particular bastion had been built by one Mahomed Ali Khan, and completed on the first of Rubi-ul-Akhir H., or, from the employment of the Arabic numerals, it may be Soor sun 985, which will make the date 14 years later. '[4] It will be seen from the reading given below that the above statement is full of mistakes and hence likely to mislead.

Some portion of the stone at the top has broken off with the result that the Persian version has lost a few lines. The remaining lines merely contain the date and the words 'was constructed' and also, occurring at the end, the name Ẓahīr (son of) Muḥammad who wrote the inscription. Of the other name only the latter part has survived on the stone, viz., Ḥabashī Niẓām Shāhī who is

[1] Please see foot-note 6 on p. 13.

[2] This verse without taking into consideration the phrase "درکار کرد" may be translated thus : I sought its date from *Hūshī*. He said in reply, ' (it can be found) *in* (the words) *Fatḥ Burj of Aflāṭūn, the just*'.

It may be pointed out that the numerical value of letter "ب" in "بفتح" is to be included in the calculation.

[3] The fact is quite the reverse. Probably, Mr. Richardsone wrote from memory.

[4] Richardsone, op. cit., p. 144. As stated earlier, *Bom. Gaz.*, op. cit., copies the same account verbatim. Also see Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E.(S).

probably none other than Khān-i-A'ẓam Haibat Khān *ṭhāṇedār* mentioned in the *Nāgarī* inscription incised below the Persian record. The latter also mentions one Sayyidu's-Sādāt Sayyid Manā but the connection of this name is not clear. The *Nāgarī* record comprising four lines is dated the 10th day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha of the Śaka year 1499, Iśvara, corresponding to 11th June, 1577 A.D., which is earlier than the date of the Persian version by a week. It refers to the *hastākshara* of Khān-i-A'ẓam Haibat Khān.[1] It may be pointed out that the date of the record falls in the reign of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.

The style of writing of the Persian version is *Naskh*, while the slab which is greyish granite measures in its present condition 2′4″by 1′4″ and is about 10″ thick. The text of the Persian portion reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) شاهی ....ن حبشی نظام شاهی

(۲) بعنایت ؟ مرتب شد فی التاریخ غره من شهر ربیع

(۳) الثانی سنه خمس ثمانین و تسعمایه رقم العبد ظهیر محمد داعی ؟

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . . Shāhī . . . . Ḥabashī Niẓām Shāhī.

(2) . . . . through the kindness, was constructed, on the 1st day of the month of Rabī' -

(3) u'th-Thānī, year five (and) eighty and nine hundred (18th June, 1577 A.D.). Written by the servant Ẓahīr Muḥammad Dā'ī.[2]

INSCRIPTION NO. 10

This inscriptional tablet measuring 2′2″ by 1′8″ by 7″ contains an epigraph comprising two verses in Persian inscribed in four lines and one line in Arabic prose giving the date. According to Richardsone, in the Galna fort there is ' a tower so constructed as to command the entire route of ascent, and immediately facing, of course at different elevations, the third and fourth gateways . . . . . . There we found the third tablet dated H. 993, A.D. 1577,[3] the latest inscription on the fort but which ascribes its foundation to Mahomed Ali '.[4] Now according to my reading, one Walī completed within a short time the construction of a building near the *Baorī-i-Ṭāq* during the governorship of Mīr 'Alī. I personally feel that by *Baorī-i-Ṭāq* is meant a step-well (Bāolī) called Ṭāq Bāolī near which the building was constructed. It is not at all unlikely that the inscriptional slab did not originally belong to the bastion or tower referred to by Mr. Richardsone ; it might have been lying loose, detached from the building it was originally fixed to and later set up on the said tower.

The statement of M. Ismail about Mīr 'Alī that he ' may be an official of king Miran or identical with the king himself who received very ignominious treatment at the hands of Akbar, the Mughal emperor ',[5] is confused and vague.

[1] Note by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] There is another inscription in the Galna fort mentioning Fūlād Khān and inscribed on the 1st of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, Shuhūr Sana 991 by the same scribe.

[3] 1585 A.D., and not 1577 A.D., is the equivalent year of A.H. 993.

[4] Richardsone, op. cit., p. 144. Also see, Ismail, op. cit., p. 2, no. E.(9).

[5] Ismail, op. cit., p. 2. By Mīrān he means Mīrān Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.

The text of the record is executed in relief in *Naskh* script without any distinguishing features and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) هو

(۲) برین قلعه در عهد میر علی

(۳) روان شد عمارت بمستعجلی

(۴) بنا کرد نزدیک بوری طاق

(۵) تمامش نموده ز همت ولی

(۶) فی سنه ۹۹۳ من شهر جماد الاحد سلخ

TRANSLATION

(1) He is [God].

(2) On this fort in the reign of Mīr 'Alī,

(3) the construction of the building was started in urgency.

(4-5) Walī constructed, near the Ṭāq Borī, (the building), and completed it through magnanimity.

(6) In the year 993 in the month of Jumādā I, last day (20th May, 1585 A.D.).

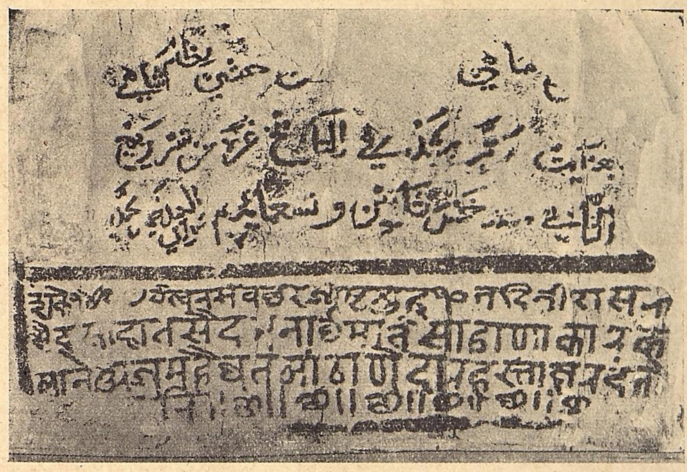
The inscription is dated A.H. 993 (1585 A.D.), when Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh I was ruling from Ahmadnagar. Neither Mīr 'Alī who was probably the governor of the fort or the district nor Walī, who caused the structure to be constructed could be traced in available historical works.

INSCRIPTION NO. 11

The tablet bearing this epigraph is reported to have been found lying in the court of the District Magistrate at Thana in 1906 and subsequently removed to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society where it lay prior to its removal to the Museum.[1] The inscription is bilingual but the major and important portion is in Persian comprising eleven lines of close and minute writing. It records in details the services of both Rāja Gopāl Dās Goṛ who was given the title of Rāja Māndhātā and also the charge of the Asir Fort by Shāh Jahān and of the former's son Rāja Manohar Dās, who, succeeding his father as the *qal'adār* in A.H. 1062, was confirmed by Shāh Jahān and after the latter, by Aurangzeb and who repaired the walls, granaries etc., of the forts of Mahābalī, Palāsgaḍh, Bhanḍār Durg etc., on the 5th Ramaḍān of the regnal year 11 or A.H. 1079 (27th January, 1669 A.D.). Another inscription recording the services rendered by

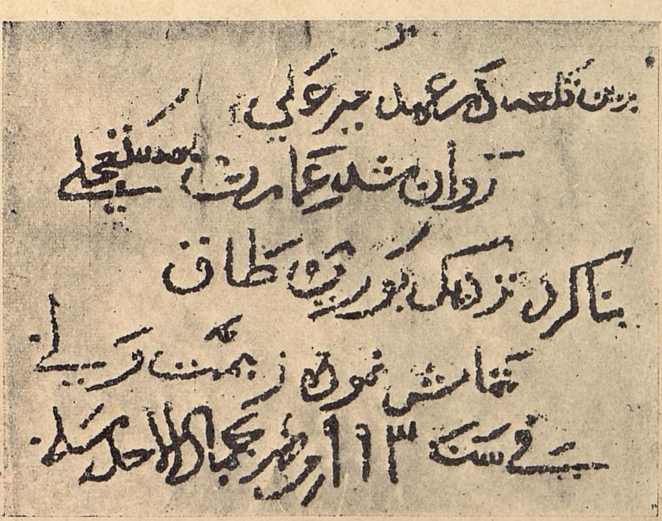
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 3, no. E. (2). For further details and exhaustive notes on this inscription, please see J. J. Modi, op. cit.

(*a*) Niẓām Sh̲āhī inscription from Galna, dated A. H. 985 (p. 15)



SCALE : ·21

(*b*) Inscription from Galna, dated A. H. 993 (p. 16)



SCALE : ·16

Rāja Gopāl Dās and his family to Shāh Jahān when the latter was yet a prince is to be found on the right jamb of the Phūṭā Darwāza at Asirgaḍh.[1] An inscription on a gun in Aurangabad also mentions Manohar Dās as having repaired it.[2]

As has been stated above in the introductory lines, Shamsu'l-'Ulamā Modi had read a very exhaustive paper on this inscription before the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. But for our purpose his study which otherwise supplies us with much information regarding various places is not so scientific as it ought to have been. His readings, which are not claimed as 'altogether correct' even by him are on the whole quite satisfactory, there being only four or five places where my readings differ from his ; but these are of minor nature. The same, however cannot, be said of his remarks which, if on one hand are unnecessarily lengthy and at times superfluous, are on the other, not wholly free from statements, sometimes betraying uncertainty, that are likely to mislead. As it is not possible for us to go into details, we shall refer by way of example, to a few points only.

It may be pointed out at the outset that Shamsu'l-' Ulamā had read his paper before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society where certain suggestions etc., were made, especially by Professor Isfahani.[3] After the paper was published, H. Beveridge also suggested a few things. Hence Shamsu'l-'Ulamā published his further remarks in a subsequent issue of the same journal.[4] The most important suggestion made by Beveridge was the reading of the word ''تمهّد'' for ''تهيه'' to which Shamsu'l-' Ulamā readily agreed. The whole phrase ''در جنگ تهيه بكار آمدند'' was translated by the latter as 'they prepared for war'. In his second article he suggested this translation, ' They fought in the battle of Tatta ' or ' they became useful in the battle of Tatta ', and added in a footnote that ' ''كار'' war, battle ; ''بكار آمدن'' also means to be useful. So the sentence may also mean " they became useful in the battle of Tatta ".'[5] It is apparent that the meaning intended here is that 'they were killed in the battle of Thatta'. It is also to be noted that Shamsu'l-'Ulamā had quoted two passages from the *Ma'āthīru'l-Umarā* in which reference to this affair is made. In the first passage, the same phrase ''بكار آمدند'' is used which is translated in the same way,[6] while in the other passage, the phrase used is ''جان نثار گرديد'' which Shamsu'l-'Ulamā translates, and this time correctly, as ' they were gloriously killed '.[7] Then also Shamsu'l-'Ulamā does not clarify the statement once for all that all these passages including the texts of this as well as the Asirgadh inscription of which Shamsu'l-'Ulamā had no information, mean that Rāja Gopāl Dās and his son Kunwar Balrām had laid down their lives in the seige of Thatta. Likewise, Shamsu'l-'Ulamā has interpreted the phrase ''خادم حرم'' thus: 'The inscription speaks of *Khādamān* (خادمان) *i.e.*, domestic servants being left by Shāh Jahān .... The Tārikh-i-Jahangiri speaks of the female servants of the royal harem (پرستاران حرم). We must understand that both seem to mean the same thing, because the word *khādam* (خادم) in Persian is used

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[1] This inscription has been published in *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 7, pl. IV b. The services rendered by Rāja Gopāl Dās and his family have also been mentioned in Ṣamṣāmu'd-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 251, 263 etc.

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1956-57, Appendix B, No. 115.

[3] Modi, op. cit., p. 141, f.n. 2 ; p. 142, f.n. 1,2,6.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 533-38.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 534 and f.n. 1,

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 534.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 535

for both, male and female, domestic servants'.[1] This, I am afraid, is not correct. The phrase "خادمان حرم" or "پرستاران حرم" like "بندگان حضرت" signifies not the domestic servants, male or female, but members of the royal seraglio themselves. Similarly, Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's statement that 'the next event referred to in the inscription is that of Shāh Jahān crossing a river and going to Deccan' etc.,[2] is unwarranted and not found in the text. What the inscription means to say is that Shāh Jahān crossed back into Deccan from the eastern provinces where he had earlier gone. A striking instance of Shamsu'l-'Ulamā's hesitancy is provided in his note on the word "پورب" occurring in l.2 of the epigraph. While in the footnote he stated that 'Perhaps it is a Hindi word meaning East, as suggested by Prof. Isfahani', he expressed his views thus: 'I cannot identify the place mentioned as Purab .... Perhaps, Purab was a place in the direction of Burhanpur. Perhaps, the scribe who inscribed the inscription misunderstood or mistook Purab (پورب) for Burhanpur (برهان پور)'.[3]

Lastly, his whole discussion as to whether a Hindu or a Muslim had set up the stone is quite superfluous.[4] I have failed to understand how this question could have arisen at all.

Shamsu'l-'Ulamā has likewise discussed at some length, but inconclusively, the probable find-spot of this inscription. In my humble opinion, this as well as the other stone record removed to the Museum from the Office of the District Judge, belonged originally to the Maholi fort (No. 13, *infra*).

The language of the inscription under study is Persian prose, which, though on the whole not so faulty as we often come across in inscriptions, is yet not quite free from mistakes which may have resulted due to the ignorance of the scribe. The inscriptional tablet measuring 22″ by 15″ is slightly damaged, the stone having developed a vertical crack in the middle, and the writing is also somewhat affected. However, this does not present much difficulty in the decipherment of the text.

The Persian version is executed in relief in *Nasta'līq* style and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI

(۱) [5]چون در سنه یکهزار سی و دو هجری شاه جهان [با ؟ مال] و متاع معه خادمان محل بر قلعه آسیر حواله راجه گوپالداس گور

(۲) نموده خود بدولت عازم به سمت پورب شدند در هنگام [عمل ؟] راجه مشار الیه از سلطان پرویز قریب دو سال در اسیر

(۳) جنگ نمود بعد چند روز شاهجهان از آنجا عبور نموده باز به دکهن تشریف ارزانے فرمودند آن زمان راجه گوپالداس بملازمت

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

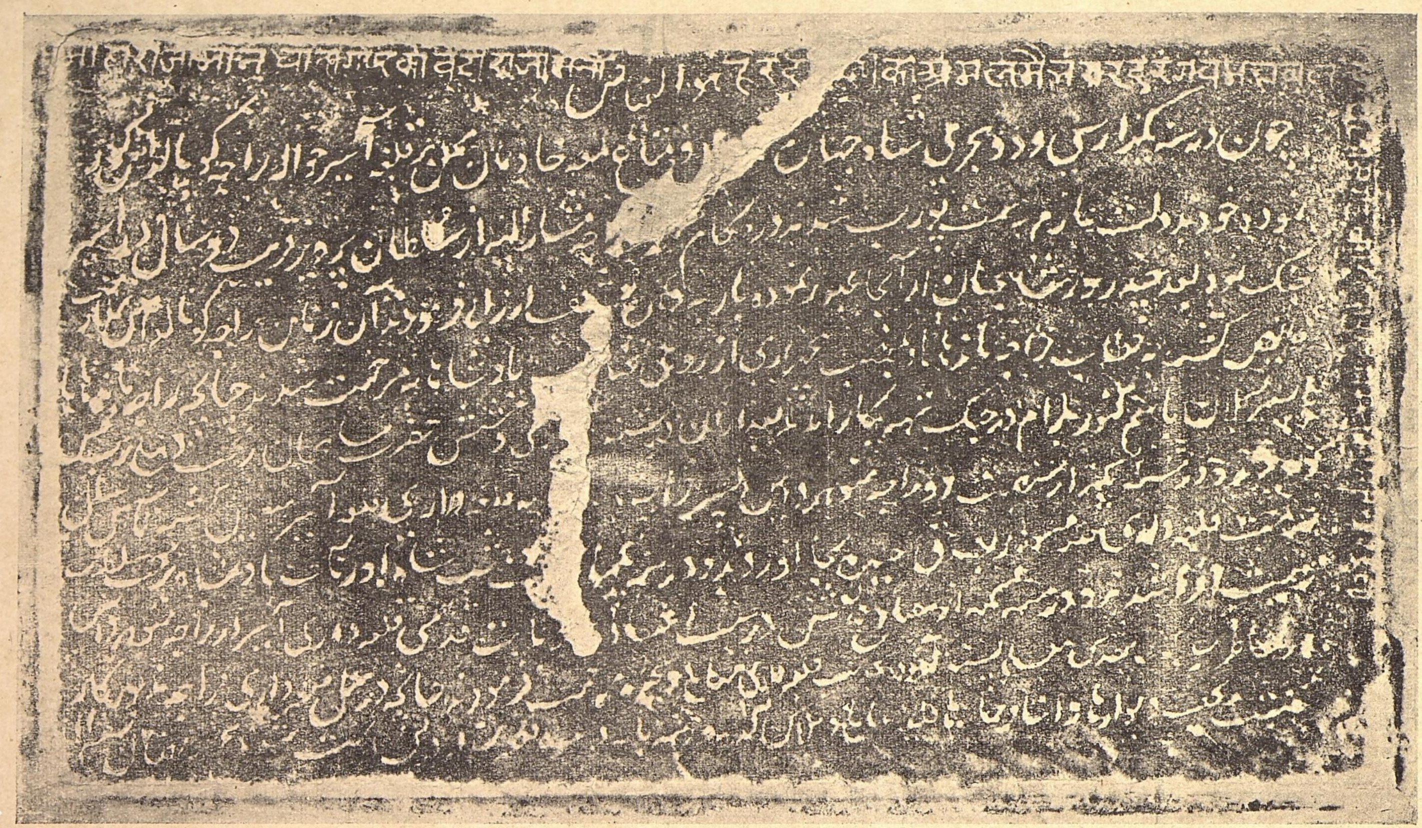
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[5] The text is headed by the words "هوالفیاض" meaning 'He is Bountiful'.

Bombay Museum—*contd.*

Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated 11th regnal year (p. 18)



Scale : ·3

(۴) فایض گشته به خطاب راجه ماندهاتا و بمنصب پنجهزاری از روی عنایت پادشاهانه
مرحمت شدند چنانچه راجه ماندهاتا

(۵) با پسر کلان باسم کنور بلرام در جنگ تهته بکار آمدند بعد ازان در سنه یکهزار
سی و شش حضرت شاهجهان بر تخت دهلی زینت بخش

(۶) گردیدند و در سنه یکهزار شصت دو راجه منوهرداس پسر راجه ما[ندهاتا] به قلعه
داری قلعه آسیر متعین گشته تا شش سال.

(۷) خدمت قلعه داری قلعه مسطور بصدق عقیده بجا آوردند و در سنه یکهزار [شصت]
و هشت شاه اورنگ بادشاه بر تخت سلطنت

(۸) زینت افزا شدند و در سنه یکهزار هفتاد پنج نقش درست اعتقا[دی] و ثابت قدمی
قلعه داری آسیر از راجه منوهر داس

(۹) در خاطر مبارک مقدس معلی پسند آورده خدمت قلعه داری مهابلی وغیره مرحمت
فرمودند چنانچه در عمل قلعه داری راجه مزبور کار

(۱۰) شکست ریخت دیوارها و انبار خانه‌ها قلعه مهابلی و پلاس کده و زینه پایه قلعه
بهندار درگ اراست شدند پنجم رمضان سنه ۱۱

TRANSLATION

(1) When in the year one thousand thirty and two of the Hijra (era), Shāh Jahān, having made over his property and effects along with the inmates of his seraglio to the charge of Rāja Gopāl Dās Goṛ in the fort of Asir,

(2) himself started towards the east (*i.e.*, Bihar and Bengal); in this period of his governorship, the aforesaid Rāja put up a fight at Asir for about two years against Sulṭān Parwīz.

(3) After some time, Shāh Jahān having crossed over that land again returned to Deccan; at that time Rāja Gopāl Dās was favoured

(4) with service (*i.e.*, audience) and was conferred the title, through royal favours, of Rāja Māndhātā and a *manṣab* of 5,000. After some time, Rāja Māndhātā

(5) was killed, with his eldest son Kunwar Balrām by name, in the battle of Thatta. After that in the year one thousand thirty and six, His Majesty Shāh Jahān occupied the throne of Delhi

(6) and in the year one thousand sixtytwo, Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhāta having been appointed in the custodianship of the fort of Asir, for six years

(7) he carried out the duties of the custodianship of the said fort with sincere devotion, and in the year one thousand sixtyeight Shāh Aurang Bādshāh adorned the throne of the kingdom

(8) and in the year one thousand seventyfive, the stamp of true devotion and steadfastedness of the charge of the Asir fort on behalf of Rāja Manohar Dās having

(9) impressed the lofty, holy and blessed mind (of the emperor), he was entrusted with the duties of the charge of Mahābalī (fort) etc., so that during his term of custodianship, the said Rāja

(10) carried out the repairs to the walls, (and) store-houses of the forts of Mahābalī, Palāsgaḍh, (and?) the steps leading to Bhanḍār Durg. Fifth (of the month of) Ramaḍān, (regnal year) 11 (*i.e.*, A.H. 1079-27th January, 1669 A.D.).

The *Nāgarī* version is very short comprising one line written around the two sides of the slab. It simply states that repairs were carried out to the buildings of the forts of Bhanḍār Durg, Mahāvalī and Palāsgaḍh during the governorship of Rāja Manohar Dās, son of Rāja Māndhātā Goṛ. From the text which has been deciphered by me, the language appears to be a variation of Hindi akin to a form of Rajasthani spoken in some parts of Rajasthan.

Nāgarī version.[1]

माहाराजा मानधाता गोडर को बेट्टो राजा मनोहरदासजी का अमल मै भंडार दुरंग व महावली व पलासगढ़ की ? ईमारति को सब काम तैयार हुवा ।

TRANSLATION

During the governorship of Rājā Manohar Dās Jī, son of Māhā Rājā Māndhātā Goṛ, buildings of the Bhanḍār Durg, Mahāvalī and Palāsgaḍh were completely repaired.

It will be seen that the name Mahābalī of the Persian inscription has been written here as Mahāvalī which is perhaps the correct form. Mahāvali or Mahābalī is none other than the Maholi fort, which stands in the middle on the top of a hill-range with Palāsgaḍh on the north and Bhanḍār Durg on the south.[2]

We may also note that the date of Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne as given in the inscription falls short of the accepted date viz., A. H. 1037, by one year. As the latter date is supported by historical and numismatic evidences, A. H. 1036 may be taken to refer to the year in which Shāh Jahān was placed on the throne at Lahore by Āṣaf Khan.[3]

INSCRIPTION NO. 12

This inscription which is mainly in Persian verse is reported to have been brought from the fort at Ankai in Nasik District, where it originally belonged to a bathroom.[4] Ankai, generally called Ankai-Tankai, is the strongest hill-fort in Nasik District, rising about 900 feet above the plain. It is approached by a station of the same name, near Manmad on the Manmad-Kazipet section of the Central Railway.[5]

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[1] Also, Modi, op. cit., p. 140.

[2] For a description of the Maholi and other forts, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest (Bombay, 1882), pp. 219-220 ; Bhandargadh of the *Gazetteer* is in all probability Bhandar Durg of our inscription.

[3] Ismail, op. cit., pp. 3-4, no. E. (14). Also, Modi, op. cit., pp, 153-54, has discussed this question at some length.

[4] Ismail, op. cit., p. 3.

[5] For a detailed description and history of the fort etc., see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XVI, op. cit., pp. 419-21.

The inscriptional tablet measuring 1′5″ by 2′3″ is slightly damaged with the result that a few letters have disappeared on the stone while few more have lost their prominence of relief. The record comprises two verses inscribed in four lines and one more line in prose, all of which have been executed in relief in *Nasta'līq* characters of a fairly high order. The epigraph purports to give a chronogram for the construction of a bath (*ḥammām*), which, when worked out, yields the date A. H. 1097 (1685-86 A.D.), also given in figures. The last line of the text mentions the name of Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī who obviously ordered the construction. The name of emperor Aurangzeb during whose reign the date of the record falls does not find mention in the text. I have not been able to establish the identity of Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī from the available records, but that he must have held some office of consequence in the Mughal forces occupying this fort can be presumed without much fear of contradiction. But in that case, the omission of the emperor's name would be somewhat surprising.

The epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) مرتب شد حما[م][1] .... از رحمت قدرت

(۲) اساسش باد چون نو روز دایم شوکت و حشمت

(۳) بنای سال تاریخش چو جستم از در [ر]حمت

(۴) ندا از هاتفم آمد بگفتا منزل عشرت

(۵) [ا]حقر[2] عباد الله الغنی نو روز قلی بیگ روز بهانی ۱۰۹۷

TRANSLATION

(1) The................bath was constructed through the kindness of the Providence.

(2) May its foundation be, for ever, pomp and splendour, like (the festival of) Naurūz.[3]

(3) When I sought the base of the year of its date from the door of grace,

(4) a call from the Invisible angel reached me saying, ' (it is) *abode of pleasure* '.

(5) The meanest of God's creatures, Naurūz Qulī Baig Rūzbihānī. (Year) 1097 (A. H.=1685-86 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 13

The tablet bearing this inscription (1′5″ by 1′6″ by 2″) is reported to have been found lying along with the inscription of the Rāja Māndhātā studied above (No. 11), in the court of the District

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[1] The missing word is probably an adjective like ''دلکشا'' or ''دلپسند''.

[2] The ''الف'' is there on the stone though it has not come out on the estampage.

[3] There is a pun here. Naurūz means New Year's day which was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by the Mughals in India and is also part of the builder's name.

Judge at Thana in 1906.[1] The slab seems to have been adversely affected by exposure to weather for quite a long time, as in a considerable portion of the text, letters originally carved out in relief have almost levelled down with the background. It is a matter of satisfaction that this inscription which has a great historical value is now preserved from further deterioration.

As regards the findspot of the epigraph, no information is available in the records of the Museum, but as the text refers to the history of the fort of Maholi, it is very likely that it originally came from that place.

The record belongs to Aurangzeb's reign and states that the emperor, on the fort of Maholi having been conquered, assigned its governorship to Mīr Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, son of Mukhliṣ Khān who held the post for about fourteen years.[2] It was probably during his term of office, that he constructed an *ābdārkhāna* (water-room), a garden, a bath and a *ṭānka* (underground water-cistern). According to my reading, the date of the record proper is Aurangzeb's regnal year 45 corresponding to A.H. 1113 (1701 A.D.).[3] The text running into ten lines of Persian prose is executed in *Nasta'līq* characters in relief. The calligraphy, judged from what remains on the damaged tablet, is of a fairly high order.

My reading of the text is as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII (*a*)

(۱) در سنه یکهزار و یکصد و .... والا ؟ همت بندگان حضرت

(۲) سلیمان مرتبت مظهر آیات مبین ؟ محی الاسلام والدین محمد

(۳) اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی بعد تسخیر قلعهٔ ماهولی

(۴) از روی خانه زاد نوازے ؟ خدمت .... زین الدین علیخان بن مخلصخان

(۵) ......مفوض نموده چنانچه مدت چهارده سال بترددات شایسته و آثار ؟ بایسته

(۶) بخدمت مزبور در عین امتیاز نموده کار سنبها ؟ جهنمی بتقدیم رسانیده بمراحم خسروانه

(۷) سزاوار و بقلعه ؟ مذکور تعمیر [4]ابدار خانه ؟ و حویلی و باغ و حمام و تانکه آب جهت

(۸) حصار نمود حراست مستقیم اجمیر ؟ ....

(۹) بشرف ....

(۱۰) فضل و کرم با هفتاد ذات سوار و منصب احدی .... این خدمت ؟ پنجم محرم سنه ۴۵ ؟

[1] Ismaīl, op. cit., p. 3, no. E. (13).

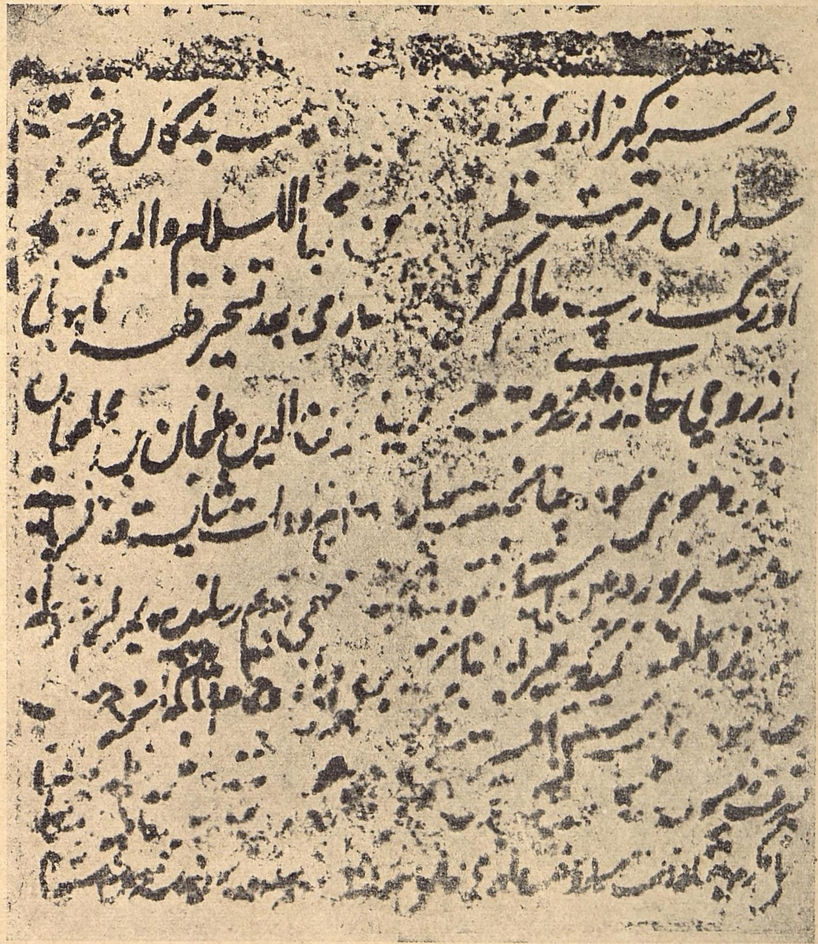
[2] It is very unfortunate that the writing being badly damaged, a very important evidence giving the date of the conquestof the fort should have been lost.

[3] Cf. the statement in *ibid.* : 'It is in a very bad state of preservation. From what remains, it seems that Aurangzeb in A. H. 1115=A.D. 1703 granted the rank of commander of 1,000 horse to Zainud-dīn Ali Khan, an official of the Mughal army.'

[4] This word may also be "انبار خانه" (store-house).

BOMBAY MUSEUM—*contd.*

(*a*) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1113 (p. 22)



SCALE : ·3

(*b*) Inscription from Surat, dated A. H. 1198 (p. 26)

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year one thousand one hundred and........His Majesty of lofty aspirations,

(2) having the position of Solomon, manifestation of clear signs, Muḥyīu'l-Islām wa'd-Dīn (lit., reviver of Islām and the Faith), Muḥammad

(3) Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, after the conquest of the fort of Māholī,

(4) by way of favouring the house-born slaves, appointed Mīr Zainu'd-Dīn ' Alī Khān, son of Mukhliṣ Khān

(5-6)..........Consequently, for a period of fourteen years, having eminently discharged the said service with praiseworthy efforts and achievements, he settled the matter of Sambhā?, the resident of hell, and was received into royal favours.

(7) The said Mīr (ordered?) construction of the water-room...... ....garden, a bath and the *ṭānka* of water for the use of ?

(8) the fort..

(9) ....

(10) ....5th Muḥarram, 45th year (of reign) (i.e., 5th Muḥarram, A. H. 1113=1st June, 1701 A.D.).

The fort of Maholi, the most important forts of North Konkan, is situated on the hill of the same name 2815 feet high, in the Shahpur sub-division of the Thana District of Bombay.[1] It is eighteen miles north east of Kalyan. It was on the 11th March 1689 that Mu'tabar Khān was ordered by Aurangzeb to march against Maholi which, along with other forts, was taken by the former before the end of the year.[2]

Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, the son of Mukhliṣ Khān, who is mentioned in the inscription as having been given the charge of the fort, was a close relation of Mu'tabar Khān, the latter having been married to his sister. His father Mullā Yaḥyā, the younger brother of Mullā Aḥmad Nāita had entered Aurangzeb's service in the sixth year of the reign with a *manṣab* of 2,000, and was later given the title Mukhliṣ Khān, when the son, Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān of our inscription, is stated to have been awarded suitable offices. After the death of his brother-in-law, Mu'tabar Khān, the latter's possessions passed on to him. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he went to Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān at Arcot where probably he remained till the end of his life. His son is also stated to have received his father's title.[3] Our inscription is an important record throwing light on the history of Maholi and also furnishes us with details regarding the assignment, etc., of the Nawwāb.

INSCRIPTION NO. 14

This as well as the next epigraph belong to the reign of Aurangzeb's son and successor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. The one studied here is carved in relief on a stone measuring 2'7" by 1'1"

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[1] For details regarding the fort and the history of its occupation, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. XIV, op. cit., pp. 219-20 ; H. Cousens, *Revised List of the Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), p. 113.

[2] For details, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. V (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 148-151, 154, 157 : for some more references to Maholi, see *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 395 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I, p. 746; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 344, etc. Sir Jadunath has based his account on a manuscript work *Kār-Nāma* which narrates the life and achievements of Mu'tabar Khān.

[3] Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 562-66.

by 8″, which is reported to have been brought from Anaki fort.[1] The inscription is incomplete, its first part having been lost and moreover, it is not known as to on what building it was originally set up. But, from the surviving portion of the text, it appears that a gateway of the fort, after construction or more probably reparation, was given the name Makka'ī Darwāza.[2] This was in A. H. 1120 (1708-09 A.D.) which falls in the reign of S͟hāh 'Ālam I. The inscription also contains the name Santok͟h Rāi *mus͟hrif*,[3] who probably reconstructed the said gateway at his own initiative or under orders from a superior. The style of writing of the inscription is *Nasta'līq*, without any special merit, and quite similar to the calligraphy of the next inscription which, in all probability, is dated A.H. 1122 (1710 A.D.). As both the inscriptions are reported to be from the same place, viz., Ankai fort, it is very likely that they were designed by the same scribe and also that Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī K͟hān mentioned in the later inscription was responsible for setting them up.

The extant portion of this fragmentary epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

(۱) .... [خ]طاب مکئی دروازه ممتاز گشت

(۲) .... ی سنه ۱۱۲۰ خانه زاد سنتوکهرای مشرف

TRANSLATION

(1) ....was distinguished with the title Makka'ī Darwāza.

(2) ....1120 (A.H.=1708-09 A.D.). The house-born (slave) Santokhrāi, the *mus͟hrif*.

INSCRIPTION NO. 15

As stated above, this record is also said to have been brought from Ankai fort,[4] and is, like the previous inscription, incomplete. It refers to the construction of some structure carried out under the supervision of Faqīrā Baig, who is spoken of as the deputy (*nā'ib*) of Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī K͟hān. The inscription does not name the king but merely refers to the fourth year of his reign which must be that of S͟hāh 'Ālam Bahādur S͟hāh, son and successor of Aurangzeb : the calligraphy of this inscription is similar to that of the previous record dated A.H. 1120 (1708-09 A.D.) ; moreover, in all probability, Nawwāb Zainu'd-Dīn ' Alī K͟hān is none other than the one mentioned in the Maholi fort inscription dated about a decade earlier (No. 13 supra). If this be accepted, the date of this inscription would be 10th S͟hawwāl, A.H. 1122 (21st November, 1710 A.D.). The inscriptional tablet measures about 3′3″ by 1′3″.

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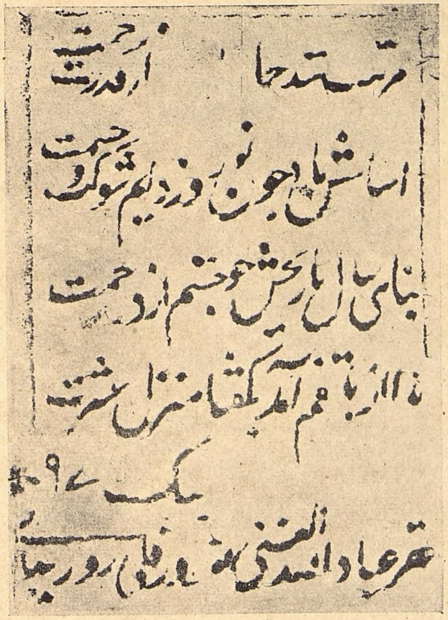
[1] Ismail, op. cit., p. 4, no. E. (15).

[2] It has been a common practice with the Muslims to name western gates of the forts as Makkī Darwāza as they face the holy city of Mecca situated in the west.

[3] Ismail, op. cit., p. 4, gives ' Mus͟harrif ' which is wrong. For the duties, etc., of a mus͟hrif see M. Nazim. *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟hazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 144-45. However, the duties of a *mus͟hrif* have been more correctly established by S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), pp. 29-32, 38, 61.

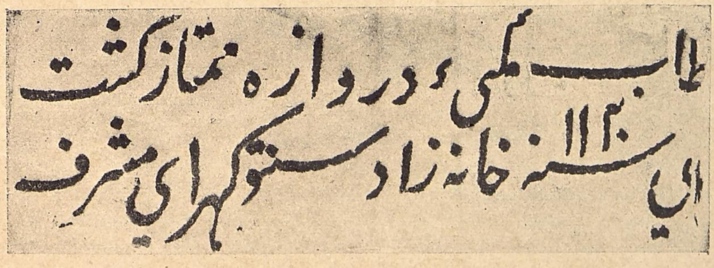
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 4, no. E. (17), where it is stated : ' Though the date is not given, yet it may be presumed that it belongs to the time of the later Mughals. It records the completion of some part of repairs to a part of the building by an employee of one Zainud-Din Ali Khan on the 10th Shawwal of an unknown year.'

(*a*) Inscription from Ankai Fort,
dated A. H. 1097 (p. 21)



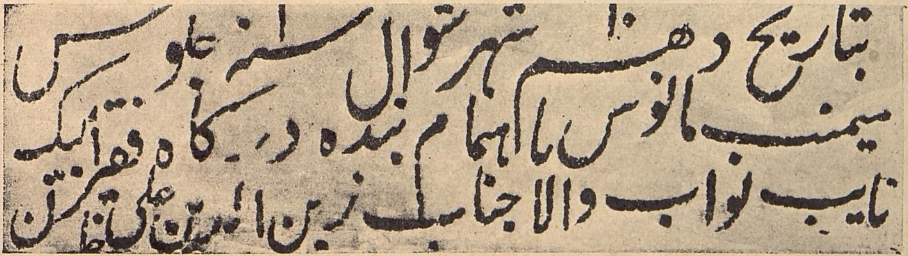
Scale : ·16

(*b*) Inscription of the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh, from the same place, dated A. H. 1120 (p. 24)



Scale : ·14

(*c*) Another inscription from the same place (p. 25)



Scale : ·14

As regards Faqīrā Baig who is mentioned in the epigraph as the deputy of the Nawwāb, I have not been able to trace any reference to him in records available to me.

The inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (*c*)

(۱) بتاریخ دهم شهر شوال سنه [1] ۴ جلوس

(۲) میمنت مانوس باهتمام بندۀ درگاه فقیرا بیگ

(۳) نایب نواب والا جناب زین الدین علی خان

TRANSLATION

(1) On the tenth of the month of Shawwāl, year 4 of accession

(2) of auspicious association, under the superintendence of the servant of the court, Faqīrā Baig,

(3) deputy of the Nawwāb of lofty position (lit., threshold), Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān.

It is obvious from the above text that the lower part or rather the upper part of the epigraph is missing.

INSCRIPTION NO. 16

This elegantly executed inscription is reported to have been presented to the Museum by the President of the District Local Board, Surat, in 1938 A.D. Dr. Nazim could publish only an eye reading of this inscription, since an impression could not be taken as the inscribed words according to him, have been filled in with black stone.[2] But it is being re-edited here along with the facsimile for the benefit of the scholars.

Originally appearing on the ruined gateway of Daryā Maḥal,[3] referred to in the inscription by its chronological name Khūrshīd Nigāh only, it is interesting from another point of view : the material on which it is found carved is not stone as Dr. Nazim has been led to think but a plank of wood rectangular in shape. The plank is divided into twelve panels, square and rectangular, formed by the intersectoin of horizontal and vertical lines ; in these panels, the texts are carved within two cusped arches, one at each end. The style of writing also possesses considerable merit and the overall impression produced by the inscription on the onlooker is pleasant.

The language of the record is Arabic prose and Persian verse. The Arabic portion comprises religious texts contained in the three border panels and also in a portion of the fourth border. The middle portion contains two lines of Persian verse. In the four corners invocations to the

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[1] It has been fully ascertained that the figure is, "۴" though it looks like "۱" in the estampage which is due to the fact that its upper portion having come beneath the frame in which the slab is set, its impression could not come on the estampage.

[2] *EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 44.

[3] The building is now no longer extant.

four companions of the Holy Prophet by name are inscribed in an artistic manner. The style of writing of the Arabic portion is *Thulth* with occasional Ṭughrā flourishes and that of the Persian, *Nasta'līq* of a fair type.

TEXT

Plate VII (*b*)

(*a*) *Four corners.*

یا ابا بکر ـ یا عمر ـ یا عثمان ـ یا علے

(*b*) *Borders.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم رب انزلنی منزلا مبارکا و انت خیر المنزلین

لی خمسة اطفی بها حر الوباء الحاطمه　　المصطفی و المرتضی و ابناهما و الفاطمه

اللهم یا مفتح الابواب [ا]جعل[1] هذالباب مفتوحا ابدا بالدولت و النعمة و السرور

۱۱۹۸

(*c*) *Middle portion.*

(۱) تابنده مکان ز نجم دین است　　از خلد نمونه بر زمین است

(۲) خورشید نگاه نام این بام　　تاریخ عمارتش درین است

۱۱۹۶

TRANSLATION

(*a*) O Abā Bakr, O 'Umar, O 'Uthmān, O 'Alī !

(*b*) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'O My Lord, cause me to land at a blessed landing place, for Thou art best of all who bring to land ! '[2]

I have (the blessings of) five persons whereby I can extinguish the heat of the burning epidemic :

(namely), the Muṣṭafā (the Holy Prophet), the Murtaḍā (i.e., 'Alī), the latter's two sons and Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet).

O God, O Opener of the gates, make this remain open for ever with fortune, bliss and happiness ! 1198 (A.H.=1783-84 A.D.).

(*c*) (1) The house (lit., place) is lustrous on account of the star of Faith (Najm-i-Dīn) ; [3] it is a replica of the highest heaven on earth.

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[1] The word in the original is "جعل" which, if read without supplying the "الف" as has been done above, would indicate third person singular passive and the meaning in that case would be : '(this gate) has been made'. But as the preceding words are invocatory, this verb should perhaps be better read in the Imperative mood (i.e., "اجعل").

[2] *Qur'ān*, ch. XXIII, v. 29.

[3] Dr. Nazim, *EIM*, op. cit., p. 44, translates : '[This] Lustrous House belongs to Najm-i-Dīn (i.e., the Star of Faith).' There is pun on the phrase "نجم دین" which is the name of builder and which also means 'star of faith', imparting lustre to the house.

(2) *Khurshīd Nīgāh* is the name of this building. 1196 (A.H.=1781-82 A.D.). The date of its construction is contained in it.

It will be seen that the epigraph contains two dates. One is 1196 given in figures and also obtained by adding up of the numerical value of the name of the building, viz., *Khūrshīd Nigāh.* The other date 1198 given at the end of the inscription in the border may indicate the date of completion when the inscription was carved and set up. The building is said to have been constructed by Najmu'd-Dīn who belonged to the famous Dewan family of Surat. Another inscription, dated A. H. 1207 i.e., only nine years later, appearing on a mosque near the original findspot of the present inscription, mentions him as 'the Amīr of the time '.[1]

INSCRIPTION NO. 17

The last inscription of the group has no historical value as it merely contains religious texts engraved in relief on a slab measuring about 1′ by 1′1″. However, it has some calligraphical value, executed as it is in *Naskh* and *Kūfī* scripts which are of decorative nature. It is difficult to say anything regarding the purpose of this record, much more so as its exact findspot is also not known. The major portion of the text is inscribed in *Naskh* all along the slab except in the corners which contain an ornamental pattern in *Kūfī* formed of one single word signifying perhaps a name ; this name is repeated four times in such a way as to present a geometrical design. Personally, I think the name contained therein is "عرفے" which may have been the designation or the nom-de-plume of the person who either designed the epigraph or was associated with it in some way or the other. While the calligraphy is not devoid of some merit, the text suffers by three mistakes of spelling occurring in the border, for which obviously the engraver who copied the inscription on the stone was responsible.

The text of the inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV (*c*)

(*a*) *Corners.*

عرفے

(*b*) *Borders.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المومنين فالله خير حافظا و هو

الرحم (*sic.*) الراحمين . لا فتاح (*sic.*) الاعلى لا سيف الا زوالفقار (*sic.*)

(*c*) *Middle portion.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و من يتق الله يجعله (*sic.*) مخرجا و يرزقه

من حيث لا يحتسب و من يتوكل على الله فهو حسبه ان الله

بالغ امره قد جعل انه (*sic.*) لكل شئ قدرا

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

TRANSLATION

(*a*) ' Urfī.

(*b*) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. ' Help is from God and victory near and deliver good news to the believers. '[1] ' But Allāh is the best Keeper, and He is the most Merciful of the merciful ones. '[2] ' There is no youth except 'Alī and no sword save (his) Dhu'l-Faqār. '

(*c*) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. ' And whosoever keepeth his duty to Allāh, Allāh will appoint a way out for him and will provide for him from (a quarter) whence he hath no expectation. And whosoever putteth his trust in Allāh, He will suffice him. Verily, Allāh bringeth His command to pass. Allāh hath set a measure for all things. '[3]

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[1] *Qur'ān*, ch. LXI, v. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, ch. XII, v. 64.
[3] *Ibid.*, ch. LXV, v. 2.

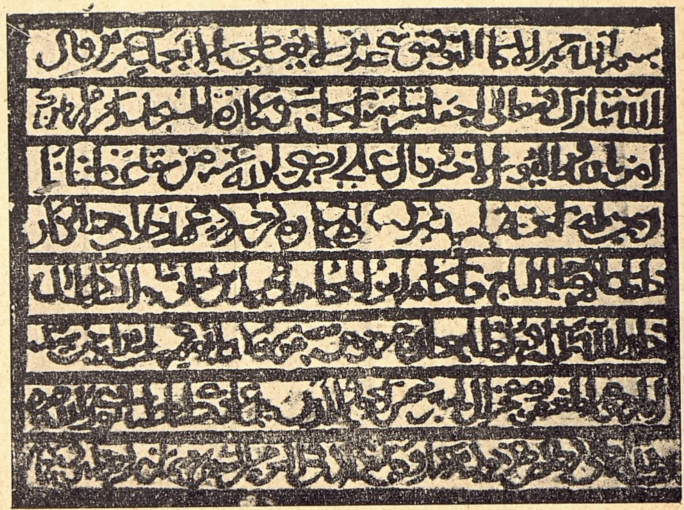
(*a*) Inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, dated A. H. 725, from Cambay (p. 29)

SCALE : ·11

(*b*) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A. H. 730, from Hindaun (p. 34)

SCALE : ·3

(*c*) Inscription of the same king, dated A. H. 731, from Petlad (p. 36)



SCALE : ·23

SIX INSCRIPTIONS OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ SHAH

By Dr. Mahdi Husain

Sometime back, Dr. Z. A. Desai, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Department of Archaeology, sent me for study at my request estampages of the following six inscriptions which are being edited here through the courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, New Delhi. All the six inscriptions belong to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and coming as they do from distant places like Cambay in Gujarat, Hindaun in Rajasthan, Petlad in Bombay, Veraval in Saurashtra (now in Bombay State), Kaghzipura in Aurangabad district and Dholka in Ahmadabad division, they testify to the far-flung empire of Dehli and its prosperity in the opening years of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign which falls into two unequal parts,[1] the first part ranging over a decade from A. H. 725 (1325 A.D.) to A. H. 735 (1335 A.D.) and the second part comprising the remaining fifteen years (A.H. 736/1336 A.D.-A.H. 752/1351 A.D.). All the six inscriptions studied below pertain to the first part.[2] Their calligraphy illustrates the time-honoured style of the Perso-Arab epigraphy, and their contents bring into relief besides the maliks and amirs left unnoticed by the chroniclers, two women—Samrū and Kad Bānū. Samrū was an Afghān by descent and Kad Bānū a Hashimite. Their roles briefly given in the inscriptions tend to elucidate the position of women in the age of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.[3]

Chronologically, the Cambay[4] inscription tops the list. Engraved on a huge slab of white marble (9′3″ by 1′6″) and fixed over the main gate of the Jāmi 'Masjid at Cambay[5]—the gate rising to a height of 13 feet from the plinth with a breadth of about 9 feet—the inscription consists of two lines in Arabic language written in *Naskh* character carved in relief. The text which is in perfect state of preservation announces the construction of a Jāmi' Masjid (cathedral mosque) by one Daulat Shah Muḥammad al-Būtahārī out of his private means on the 18th Muḥarram, A.H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.), during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

TEXT

Plate IX (*a*)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله و لو كمفحص قطاة بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة ـ هذا مما وفق الله و اعانه بنى هذا المسجد الجامع المبارك

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[1] Husain, A. M., *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), p. 93.

[2] The first, namely the Cambay inscription, is dated 725/1325 ; the second, namely the Hindaun inscription, is dated 730/1329 ; the third namely, the Petlad inscription, is dated 731/1331 ; the fourth namely, the Veraval inscription, is dated 732/1332 ; the fifth, namely the Kaghzipura inscription, is dated 733/1333 and the last, namely the Dholka inscription, is also dated 733/1333.

[3] Cf. *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, translated into English with notes by Dr. A. M. Husain, Gaekwar Oriental Series, No. CXXII (Baroda, 1953), pp. xxiv, xxix ff.

[4] Cambay, now in the Kaira district of Bombay State, was a flourishing commercial emporium and a world-mart in the 14th century. It was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (22nd Jumādā II, A. H. 743 or 22nd November, 1342 A.D.). He was impressed by its abundant shipping, and enormous merchandise, and described it as 'the home of Muslim merchants' who had raised many mosques and hospices there (the *Rehla*, op. cit., p. 172). It was from one of these merchants called Khwājagān-i-Khambāyat (خواجگان کهمبایت) by Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī (*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 18, 251-52) that forty-five years before the arrival of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa there, Kāfūr had been seized or forcibly purchased by Nuṣrat Khān, a distinguished general of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī.

[5] The text of this inscription is already published in Burgess and Cousens, *Revised List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Imperial Series, Vol. XVI (Bombay, 1897), p. 313.

(۲) و عمارته بجميعه و كله من خالص ماله مما آته الله من فضله و كرمه خالصا لله
تعالى فى عهد السلطان العالم العادل محمد شاه بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد
الضعيف الراجى الى رحمته الله تعالى دولتشه محمد البوتهارے حصل الله مرامه و ذلک فى الثامن
عشر من المحرم سنه خمس عشرين و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'And the places of worship are for God (alone); so invoke not anyone else along with God.'[1] And says the Prophet, peace be on him, 'Whoever built a mosque for Allāh even though it be as small as the dwelling of a partridge, Allāh would build for him a house in paradise'. This is by one who has been guided and helped by Him. This auspicious cathedral mosque and its building were constructed

(2) wholly and completely, out of his own money from what Allāh had given him through His grace and benevolence, merely for the sake of God the Exalted, during the reign of the learned and just emperor Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his dominion and power, by the feeble servant, expectant on the mercy of God the Exalted, Daulat Shah Muḥammad al-Būtahārī.[2] May Allāh enable him to achieve his object. And that took place on the 18th Muḥarram, 725 (A.H. or 4th January, 1325 A.D.).

According to 'Iṣāmī, Daulat Shah Muḥammad served Tughluq Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq successively, accompanying the former in his Lakhnauti expedition and the latter in the Multan expedition.[3] In the battle of Abohar[4] which crowned the Multan expedition Daulat Shah held command of the right wing.[5] According to Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, he then held the post of Ākhur Bak[6] (superintendent of the royal stable). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa he was then one of the principal amirs whom Sulṭān Muḥammad used to address as 'uncle'. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also gives us an insight into the friendly relations that obtained between Daulat Shah and the emperor, *i.e.*, Sulṭān Muḥammad. He further tells us that in A.H. 735 (1335 A.D.), Daulat Shah joined the royal expedition to Ma'bar[7] and died in the course of it. That is, when the emperor was on his way to subdue the rebellion of Jalālu'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Ma'bar and had encamped at Badrkot, the capital of Telingana, a plague broke out in the royal camp, and among other maliks and amirs whom the angel of death then claimed one was Malik Daulat Shah.[8] But he was not known at all as a builder of mosques and was not associated with Cambay. Even if he be the same man who, according to the epigraphic report, founded the Cambay mosque he must be charged with a certain amount of reticence, for if the aforesaid inscription be not a fake, its report of the construction of the Cambay mosque must be reticent, cryptic or truncated. Evidently the demonstrative

[1] *Qur'ān*, Ch. lxxii, vv. 17-18.

[2] Sometime back the late Dr. Nazim introduced to our readers, Daulat Shah Muḥammad Būtahārī as Butamārī on the strength of the latter's inscriptions which he had edited and published. Two of these inscriptions dated A. H. 721 and 722 belonged to the reign of Tughluq Shāh and one dated A. H. 726 belonged to that of his son and successor Sulṭān Muḥammad. I am sure that Būtahārī, not Būtamārī, is the correct reading. Vide, *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 25, pl. xiv (b), p. 26, pl. xiv (c), pl. xv (a).

[3] 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), p. 401.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[6] Baranī, op. cit., p. 527.

[7] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, The *Reḥla*, op. cit., p. 101.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

pronoun "ذلک" in the text of the inscription is ambiguous and cannot, with scientific acccuracy, be taken to mean the completion of the said mosque. Far from indicating the finish, "ذلک" in my opinion is a pointer to its commencement. If the 18th of Muḥarram, A. H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.) were taken as the date of finish and if Dhi'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 724 (December, 1324 A.D.) be regarded as the closing month of Tughluq Shāh's reign as Ḥājjīu'd-Dabīr[1] would have us believe, then Tughluq Shāh's reign would have a duration of four years and four months only which is untenable. Probably, the term "ذلک" was intended to embrace many details and a sequence of events which could not be inscribed in an epigraph and which collateral study of 'Iṣāmī has enabled me to build. That is, Malik Daulat Shah founded the mosque on the 18th Muḥarram, A. H. 725 (4th January, 1325 A.D.); then leaving it in the process of construction, he left Cambay and joined the Lakhnautī expedition of Tughluq Shāh. On Tughluq Shāh's return[2] by Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (July, 1325 A.D.), Malik Daulat Shah too came back but the unforeseen tragedy of Afghānpūr occurring on the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.) brought about the death of Tughluq Shāh and the accession of his son Ulugh Khān (now Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh), during whose reign the construction of the Cambay mosque which had been in progress since the 18th of Muḥarram A. H. 725 was completed. The term "ذلک" was intended by the epigraphist to cover all that could not be expressed in words. Taken literally, the inscription under review is not worth much; and its intrinsic value is very little, for any conclusion built on its *prima facie* reading will militate against almost all the authorities—'Iṣāmī,[3] Baranī,[4] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[5] Sulṭān Muḥammad[6] and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad.[7] If it be contended that Sulṭān

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[1] According to Ḥājjīu'd-Dabīr, *Arabic History of Gujrat*, vol. III (London, 1921) p. 862, the death of Tughluq Shāh took place as a result of the tragedy of Afghanpur on the last day of A. H. 724 (17th December, 1324 A.D.). But this remains unconfirmed and must be rejected in view of the cumulative evidence in favour of full five or quasi-five years.

[2] While 'Iṣāmī, Baranī and Ḥājjīu'd-Dabīr have left Tughluq Shāh's Lakhnautī expedition undated, Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 96 and Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Bombay ed., vol. I, p. 235, have fixed it in A.H. 724 (1324 A.D.). They assign it a duration of one year, for they put the death of Tughluq Shāh in Rabī' I, A.H. 725 (February-March, 1325 A.D.) on his return from Lakhnautī. But the above sequence of events built on 'Iṣāmī's data allows a period of six months only to the above expedition, *i.e.*, Muḥarram to Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (January to July, 1325 A.D.), Under the unfavourable circumstances which then embarrassed him, he could not afford to waste a whole year over it. Almost all authorities agree that he rushed to Lakhnautī and returned with forced marches.

[3] 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 401.

[4] Baranī, op. cit., p. 438, has:

"و سلطان تغلقشاه در مدت چهار پنج سال بادشاهی خود ...."

'During his four-five-year-long reign, Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh......'

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., p.50, says: 'Tughluq ruled firmly for four years'. But he (p. 53) also points out that Tughluq ruled for about five years, saying that prince Ulugh Khān (later Sulṭān Muḥammad) carried on his shoulders the coffin of the saint Niẓāmu'd-Dīn of Budāun who died at Dehli during the absence of Sulṭān Tughluq in Lakhnautī. Now the accepted date of the saint's death is 18th Rabī' I, A.H. 725 or 6th April, 1325 A.D. (cf. Hodiwala S. H., *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I, Bombay, 1939, pp. 292-93). Then Ibn Baṭṭūṭa enables us to know that the return of Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh from Lakhnautī, and his entry into the Afghanpur palace took place after the arrival of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī in Dehli. But no means of conveyance then in vogue (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa op. cit., pp. 3-5) could have brought Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī from Multan to Dehli before the month of Rajab, A. H. 725 (June, 1325 A.D.). Thus the fall of the Afghanpur palace consequent on Tughluq Shāh's death which was witnessed by Shaikh Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī after his arrival took place on the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.). This is the date of Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh's death yielded by the narrative of 'Iṣāmī, op. cit.

[6] Husain, A. M., op. cit., pp. 172 ff.

[7] Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 96. In view of the corroborative evidence from other contemporary sources, I consider the variant of 'eight months' on the margin as cogent.

Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh had ascended the throne a few days before the 18th of Muḥarram, A.H. 725, when the mosque was completed, the contention will immediately fall to the ground for no sizable building, let alone the cathedral mosque of Cambay, could be constructed in the short span of a few days or a fortnight. It must also be noted that the process of the construction of buildings was much slower then than in these days of mechanics and technical engineering.

Each of the five authorities mentioned above conveys more or less the same information regarding the period of Tughluq Shāh's reign, and the manner of expression in each case testifies to its independence of outlook and freedom from exaggeration. Baranī mentions the period twice over—in the first instance 'four years and a few months'[1] and in the second instance 'four to five years'.[2] Now Baranī's 'four to five years' corroborate 'four years and ten months' given by Sulṭān Muḥammad who says, 'And my father ruled with everybody's support for four years and ten months'.[3] Computing from the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 720 (6th September, 1320 A.D.)—the date of Tughluq Shāh's enthronement—the period of four years and ten months will extend to Jumādā II, A. H. 725 (May, 1325 A.D.) and the date of his death will fall in May. But Iṣāmī takes it further on. His narrative gives July instead of May and in fact fixes the 1st of Sha'bān, A.H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.) as the date of Tughluq Shāh's death. In other words, 'Iṣāmī's narrative essentially confirms the information given by Sulṭān Muḥammad. If Sulṭān Muḥammad puts the period of his father's reign at four years and ten months, 'Iṣāmī gives full five years. Says he :[4]

در آن پنج سالی که او شاه بود   ز دین دست هر فتنه کوتاه بود

'During the *five years* of his (Tughluq Shāh's) reign no hands of mischief could reach religion.' That is, Tughluq Shāh reigned and ruled for five years, from the 1st of Sha'bān, A. H. 720 (6th September, 1320 A.D.) to the 1st Sha'bān, A. H. 725 (13th July, 1325 A.D.).

The numismatic evidence also shows that the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq took place in A. H. 725 (1325 A.D.), not in A. H. 724 (1324 A.D.). Not a single coin of his reign bearing the year 724 is extant.[5] Since he is supposed to have brought about the death of his own father in order to seize the throne, he could not afford to lose a single minute, much less a day, in announcing himself formally the monarch. He must have struck his new coin immediately, for the new coinage together with the *Khuṭba* is the irreducible minimum required by the Islamic

[1] Baranī, op. cit., p. 456.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

[3] In his *Studies in Medieval Indian History* (pp. 76-85), Prof. K. A. Nizami of Aligarh has disparaged the fragmentary *Memoirs* of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq found in a manuscript (Add. 25, 285) of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in the British Museum. But his disparaging remarks carry no weight, for Muḥammad bin Tughluq's unpopularity with the orthodox Musalmans and his war with the majority of the 'ulamā and some of the sufis was due to causes other than those tacklexd by the learned professor. Prof. Nizami's study is one-sided ; he has completely ignored the non-Muslim sources of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's history. And it is dangerous to attempt historical researches with one-sided information. A study of the Jain and Sanskrit sources will show that Sulṭān Muḥammad—' the erudite scholar well-versed in almost every science then known to orientals '—was ' the crest-jewel of all rulers of the earth, the mighty Saka lord' according to the Brahmans and also a patron and benefactor of the Jains ; and to crown all, he was a close friend and admirer of the Jain acharya 'the exceedingly erudite poet and scholar ', Jinaprabhasuri. The *Singhi Jaina Granthamala* (Vishvabharati, Santiniketan) clearly states that Jinaprabhasuri was greatly honoured at the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh even as much as Jagadguru Hiravijayasuri was at the court of Akbar the Great. The privileged position that Muḥammad bin Tughluq enjoyed in the society of the ' infidels ' was an eyesore to the Indian section of the ' ulamā and their followers. Seeing only one side of the picture no one can even understand the psychology of Sulṭān Muḥammad, much less his difficulties, and his attitude towards the preceding sultans of Delhi.

[4] 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 401.

[5] Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* (London, 1871), p. 190.

law and convention for the public recognition of a new monarch. Muḥammad, or as he was still called Ulugh Khān, did nothing of the kind in A. H. 724 (1324 A.D.) because his father was yet alive and his own accession was yet far off.

Much reliance cannot be placed on ‘Iṣāmī’s date 724 as marking the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq[1] because it clashes with his own narrative. And it is no wonder if this date of ‘Iṣāmi’s is wrong, for at least four more of his dates out of the total of thirty-one that he has given in his *F. tūḥu’s-Salāṭīn* are wrong, viz., (i) 387/997—the date of the accession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna,[2] (ii) 377/987—the date of Maḥmūd’s invasion of Balkh,[3] (iii) 635/1237—the date of the accession of Sulṭān Raḍiya to the throne of Dehli,[4] and (iv) 694/1294-5—the date of the accession of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Khaljī.[5] And in the matter of dates no medieval chronicler is infallible. Ḥājjīu’d-Dabīr too has erred.[6]

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[1] ‘Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 408.

[2] According to Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 38, 40, 168, Maḥmūd ascended the throne in A. H. 388 (998 A.D.). In Rajab, A. H. 387 (August, 997 A.D.) died Subuktigīn who was succeeded by his younger son Ismā‘īl. In Rabī‘ I, A. H. 388 (March, 998 A.D.) was fought a battle at Ghazna between Ismā‘īl and Maḥmūd. It was after this battle that Maḥmūd won the throne; then took place his accession in the year 388, not in 387 as Iṣāmī says. The fact that Ismā‘īl was the king of Ghazna for some months (A.H. 387-88) ‘ Iṣāmī has ignored. Says he :

چو بر سه صد افزود هشتاد و هفت   مہی چند دیگر زیادت برفت

همان شاه غزنین ز عالم گذشت   به غزنین شهنشاه محمود گشت

‘ When the year 387 had advanced a few months, the said king of Ghazna died and Maḥmūd became emperor at Ghazna.’

[3] According to Nazim, op. cit., p. 234, Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not advance to Balkh until A. H. 406 (1015-16 A.D.). Says ‘Iṣāmī :

زسه صد فزون شد چو هفتاد و هفت   شهنشاه در کشور بلخ رفت

‘ In 377/987 the emperor went to the territory of Balkh.’

[4] According to the numismatic evidence Sulṭān Raḍiya ascended the throne in A. H. 634 or 1236 A.D. (*Vide*, Edward Thomas, op. cit., p. 104). But ‘Iṣāmī gives 635 Hijra saying ;

جلوس وی اندر سرای سپنج   یقین بود در شش صد و سی و پنج

‘ Her accession to the throne took place verily in 635/1237.’

It should be noted that Raḍiya had been raised to the throne by the maliks prior to the death of Ruknu’d-Dīn Fīroz which is known to have occurred on the 8th Rabī‘ I, A. H. 634 (9th November, 1236 A.D.).

[5] ‘Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 240, gives A. H. 694 (1294-5 A.D.) as the year of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Khaljī’s enthronement. But according to Baranī, op. cit., p. 184 and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 71 the assassination of Sulṭān Jalālu’d-Dīn Fīroz Khaljī took place in A. H. 695 (1296 A.D.). This is also attested by a coin of Ruknu’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the younger son of Sulṭān Jalālu‘d-Dīn Fīroz Khaljī, bearing the year 695/1296 (Edward Thomas, op. cit., p. 155). Also according to Amīr Khusrau, *Tārīkh-i-‘Alā’ī*, Elliot, op. cit., vol. III, p. 69, ‘ Alāu’d-Dīn ascended the throne on the 2nd Dhi’l-Ḥijja, A. H. 695.

[6] Ḥājjīu’d-Dabīr, op. cit., vol. II, p. 852, gives A. H. 721 as the year of the death of Khusrau Khān. It should have been 720/1320, for 721/1321 is certainly the first year of Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Tughluq’s reign. Again Ḥājjīu’d-Dabīr has wrongly dated the death of Sulṭān ‘ Alāu’d-Dīn and the accession of Quṭbu’d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, saying :

و فی احدی عشرة و سبعمایه فی اللیلة السادسة من شوال مات علاء الدین

‘ Alāu’d-Dīn died in the night of 6th Shawwāl, A. H. 711 (15th February, 1312 A.D.)’. *Vide*, Ḥājjīu’d-Dabīr, op. cit., pp. 827, 838. And Ḥajjīu’d-Dabīr continues :

و جلس علی سریر السلطنة قطب الدین مبارکشاه بن علاء الدین علی بن نصیر الخلجی فی
احدی عشر و سبعمایة

‘ And Quṭbu’d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, son of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn ‘Alī bin Naṣīr al-Khaljī ascended the throne in A.H. 711 (1312 A.D.).’

This date too is definitely wrong.

Mention might also be made of a weak statement made by Shams Sirāj ‘Afīf to the effect that the period of Tughluq Shāh's reign extended to four and a half years. Says he, ‘While he was the muqṭi‘ of Dipalpur, Sulṭān Tughluq went one day to see Shaikh ‘Alāu'd-Dīn, taking along with himself Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sulṭān Fīroz, both minors at that time. Simultaneously as they appeared before the saint (Shaikh ‘Alāu'd-Dīn), a huge quantity of fine linen was incidentally brought before him. The latter tore from it a piece measuring four yards and a half in length which he gave to Sulṭān Tughluq asking him to turban it on his head ; another piece, twenty-seven yards long he gave to Sulṭān Muḥammad asking him to do the same ; and another still, forty yards long, he gave to Sulṭān Fīroz for the same purpose'.[1] Shams Sirāj attached undue importance to this ; and considering the pieces of linen in various lengths thus awarded to the three heirs in succession to the throne as a prediction, he calculated the respective periods of their reigns. The period allotted by the saint to Tughluq Shāh was four and a half years. But ‘Afīf also says :

‘Fīroz, born in 709/1308, was fourteen years of age at the time of the accession of Tughluq Shāh, and eighteen years of age at the enthronement of Sulṭān Muḥammad.'[2]

Now, if this were true, then Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh ruled for four years only and his accession should come off in 723/1323 instead of 720/1320 and that of his son and successor Sulṭān Muḥammad in 727/1327 instead of 725/1325.[3]

The second inscription of the present group is from the town of Hindaun[4] in the Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan. The inscriptional tablet is reported to be lying loose against a grave on a *chabūtra* (platform) near the Shravaki's temple in the locality called Khari. From the pillars and other stones that are lying scattered about the place, it appears that the present *chabūtra* served as a plinth to what must have been an impressive tomb, which has fallen down ; the said *chabūtra* also contains a couple of graves besides the main one.

The epigraph records the construction of the grave and the tomb of an amīr of high rank under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It is dated the 1st of Rabī‘ I, A.H. 730 (23rd December, 1329 A. D.). Inscribed boldly in Persian *Naskh* character, the slab is in perfect state of preservation but as the letters are closely written, they are not easily decipherable. The following reading is the result of a genuine attempt at decipherment.

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم در عهد خدایگان سلاطین خلفاء روی زمین· ابو المجاهد محمد

بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بنا

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1 ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1889-91), p. 27.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

3 The editor is unable to agree with the views expressed by Dr. Agha Mahdi Ḥusain in the course of his valuable study of the Cambay inscription.

4 Hindaun lies south east of Dehli being an intermediate railway station on the main Dehli-Ratlam line. It was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on the 7th Rabī‘ II, A. H. 743 or 9th September, 1342 A. D. *Vide*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., p. 160. Also cf., *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Engl. tr. Jarrett, vol. II, p. 183.

For a few more inscriptions from Hindaun, see *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1923-24, p. 24 ; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1955-56, Appendix C, nos. 156-171.

(۲) مقبره و گنبد ملک ملوک الشرق اختیار الدولت و الدین غازی تمن محمد [1]بکهلے ؟

مرحوم بانی این خیر مسماة [1]سمرو بنت [1]مندو افغان قوم ملک مذکور کتب فی الغره ربیع الاول

سنه ثلاثین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate and Merciful. During the reign of the Lord of the sulṭāns, rulers of the earth, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his dominion and power, the construction (took place)

(2) of the tomb and dome of the late Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Ghāzī Taman Muḥammad Afghān Baghlī (?). The builder of this auspicious building (is) the lady named Samrū, daughter of Mandū Afghān, wife of the above-mentioned Malik. Written on the 1st of Rabī' I, year 730 (A. H.=23rd December, 1329 A. D.).

Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Afghān and Mandū Afghān of this inscription were perhaps two out of the many Afghāns who lived in different parts of India, some even holding responsible offices in the State under Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Only those Afghans like Shāhū and Halājūn who had incurred the Sulṭān's displeasure and become restive were noticed in the chronicles.[2] Evidently, both the Afghans under review were peaceful men, and Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn who was perhaps connected with the administration of Hindaun died peacefully.

The third inscription of the group comes from Petlad in Kaira district of Bombay State. Petlad ("पटपद्रक" in Sanskrit and "पेटलाद" in Gujarati) is mentioned as Petlāwadar (پیتلاودر) in a Persian inscription dated A.H. 723 (1323 A.D.) in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh,[3] as Petlāwad (پیتلاود) or Tablawad (تبلاود) by 'Iṣāmī[4] and as Petlad (پیتلاد) by Abu'l-Faḍl.[5] According to the author of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, Petlad, lying 30 kos south of Ahmadabad, was one of the best and richest parganas of Gujarat.[6] Aurangzeb liked to include it in the khālṣa or crown land and gave it in about A.H. 1110 (1698 A.D.) as jagir to his son Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh.[7] Petlad was then administered on behalf of the Prince by one civil and military officer, Amīn and Faujdār, respectively. The Faujdār was assisted in the performance of his duties by a subordinate official called Pīshdast who appears to have been not unfrequently a

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[1] These words were read for me by Dr. Z. A. Desai but no confirmation of these is available.

(Among other suggestions in respect of the readings of these inscriptions, I had informed my esteemed friend Dr. Mahdi Ḥusain that as far as we can read from the stone the words in question read like Timan, Baghlī and Samrū respectively. As a number of personages mentioned in inscriptions are found to be untraceable in available written histories, it is but natural that the readings of their names cannot be confirmed. However, from the illustration of the inscription, it will be seen that no better readings for these proper names can be suggested.—Ed.)

[2] Ḥusain, A. M. op. cit., pp. 180-81. Also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., pp. 100, 113.

[3] Dr. G. Yazdani, 'Inscriptions in the Tomb of Bābā Arjun Shāh', *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 17, pl. XIV(b).

[4] 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 483.

[5] Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1877), p. 494.

[6] 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, Supplement, ed. Nawab Ali, Gaekwar Oriental Series, vol. L (Baroda, 1930), p. 167.

[7] The inscription on the Shāhī Mosque in the Kachehri compound at Petlad mentions the Prince as the jagir-holder and Muṣṭafā Qulī as the Prince's deputy — the same as one mentioned in the Sanskrit version of the step-well inscription quoted below. This epigraph has been listed in *ARIE* for 1956-57, App. D, no. 86.

member of the Hindu community. This information is given by a trilingual inscription—in Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati—found at a step-well at Petlad purporting to its construction by Rāmjī, son of Bhimjī.[1]

One of the earliest Mulsim inscriptions of Gujarat or rather of the Western India is also to be found at Petlad. It forms the epitaph of Bābā Arjun Shāh who was an Indian saint of the age of Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish and it has been published in a previous issue of this Series.[2] Another inscription of Petlad which is bilingual — in Persian and Sanskrit — dating from the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh also announces the dedication of a step-well constructed in the immediate neighbourhood of the saint's tomb in A. H. 723 (1323 A. D.) and a grant of some land for its maintenance.[3] It appears that the construction of wells in those days had become a social institution.

A report about Petlad during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is also available, but it is of quite a different type. It is this: The rebel army of the amīrān-i-ṣada of Baroda headed by the ring-leaders Muqbil, Jhallū, Lālā and others chose the field of Petlad for a battle that took place in A. H. 745 (1345 A. D.) between them and the royal army under the command of 'Azīz Khammār, the governor of Malwa.[4]

Coming to the study proper, the loose inscriptional tablet in the present case, measuring 17″ by 14″ by 3″ and now lying in the Bohra mosque in the town, obviously belonged to a step-well or well which is stated to have been constructed for public use by a lady named Kad Bānū, wife of Īrānshah (?) and daughter of the late Shamsu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain 'Alawī Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Since Kad Bānū is mentioned as deceased, she had probably died before the completion of the building in A. H. 731 (1331 A. D.).

This inscription, cut into relief in *Naskh* character, begins with *Bismillāh*, followed by two religious texts in Arabic emphasizing the desirability of the works of public utility,[5] particularly intended to enable the thirsty wayfarers to quench their thirst. This should remind the reader of similar wells constructed for public use and described in the Sanksrit inscriptions[6] by some of the wealthy Brahmans of Dehli in the same period. All these inscriptions uniformly announce the benevolence and goodness of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and testify to the prosperity that the Hindus and Musalmans then commonly enjoyed. They also testify to their amiable spirit and happy relations in the absence of which no works of public utility could be thought of or undertaken. The text of the aforesaid Perso-Arabic inscription comprising eight lines reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (c)

(۱) بسم الله خیر الاسماء التوفیق شے عزیز لا یعطی الا بعبد عزیز قال

(۲) الله تبارک و تعالے اجعلتم سقایة الحاج و عمارة المسجد الحرام کمن

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[1] *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1937, pt. vi, pp. 144-48, pl. VIII. The Persian version, also listed in *ARIE*, op. cit., is composed by a Hindu gentleman, Morārjī, son of Rudrajī of the Nāgar community and mentions one more Bāwā Rāmjī as the supervisor of the construction.

[2] Yazdani, op. cit., p. 16, pl. XIVa.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

[4] 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., p. 483.

[5] '......The Hindus were also charitable and were found building the *bā'īn* (step-well) along the roads for public use and laying out gardens' (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., p. xxxv).

[6] Husain, A. M., op. cit., pp. 244-47.

(۳) آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر و قال على رضى الله عنه من سقا عطشانا

(۴) وجبت ؟ له الجنة باميد اين وعده عمارت اين خير در عهد خلافت خدايگان

(۵) خلفا[ى] عالم صاحب التاج و الخاتم ابو المجاهد محمد بن تغلق شاه السلطان

(۶) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بيچاره مرحومه مغفوره كدبانو فم ايرانشه بنت سيد

(۷) المرحوم المغفور مفخر آل يسين شمس الحق و الدين حسين علوى طباطبائى نور الله قبره

(۸) بجهت لله تعالى از خالص مال خود بر سبيل وقف بنياد كرد فى الغره من شهر رمضان سنه [1] احد ثلثين و سبعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God which is the most glorious of names. Divine grace (guidance) is a rare gift which is not awarded except to (his) worthy slave. Says

(2) Allāh the Glorious and Mighty, 'Do ye make the giving of drink to pilgrims or the maintenance of the sacred mosque equal to (pious service of) those

(3) who believe in God and the last Day'.[2] And says 'Alī, may Allāh be pleased with him, 'To him who quenches (the thirst of) a thirsty person,

(4) paradise becomes due'. In the hope of this promise, the construction of this bounty (i.e., well) during the period of the caliphate of the Lord of

(5) the caliphs of the world, master of crown and signet, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the king,

(6) may Allāh perpetuate his reign and power, the late, the pardoned, the humble Kad Bānū, wife of Irānshah (?) (and) daughter of Sayyid,

(7-8) the late, the pardoned, the pride of the descendants of the Prophet (namely) Shamsu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Ḥusain 'Alawī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, may Allāh illumine his grave, for the sake of Allāh the Exalted, from her personal money, by way of public endowment (*waqf*) was carried out on the 1st of the month of Ramaḍān, year one (and) thirty and seven hundred (8th June, 1331 A. D.).

The epigraph tells its own tale and its historical importance is considerable though the names that it gives of the endower — Musammāt Kad Bānū — and of her husband and father are obscure. Of a piece with the Sanskrit inscriptions mentioned above, this epigraph not only elucidates the laudable spirit of public service that actuated the well-to-do of both the communities -- Hindus and Musalmans — but also brings out into relief the fact that Sulṭān Muḥammad was the strongest ruler in the whole Muslim world and consequently did not feel as yet the need of recognizing an outside caliph — a point supplemented in a way by his *Memoirs*. Until the date of this epigraph he had admirers among his Musalman subjects who were prepared to style him as 'caliph' or even 'lord of the caliphs of the world'. But in the course of the succeeding ten years the situation changed completely. He became so unpopular among the Musalmans that far from being styled

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1 "احد ثلثين و سبعمايه" is grammatically wrong. It should be "احدى و ثلثين و سبعمايه".

2 *Qur'ān*, ch. IX, v. 19.

as 'caliph' he was cursed as an infidel like Yazīd, Pharaoh and Nimrod. Then he became extremely anxious to surrender himself to the Abbasid caliph, and since no caliph of the House of 'Abbās was then known to India he began a search for one in A. H. 738 (1338 A. D.). After two years he contacted one in Cairo. All this is set off in the *Memoirs*.[1] In the year A. H. 741 (1341 A. D.), there came to Dehli Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, the Abbasid caliph's envoy, with an investiture. The causes of this change in the Sulṭān's outlook and of his movements subordinated to the strong political needs of the hour may be read in my book.[2]

The fourth inscription of the series comes from Veraval, a port and town in the erstwhile Junagadh state of Saurashtra, now forming the Junagadh district of Bombay State. Veraval commands the route to Prabhas Patan where the celebrated temple of Somnath attracting a large number of pilgrims from various parts of India is situated. Veraval is also noted for the temple of Jateshwar which stands in the vicinity. It finds no mention in the contemporary chronicles.[3]

This inscription[4] is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the local Jāmi' Masjid which is an old building with some claim to architecture. It was constructed, according to the inscription under review, within four decades of the Turkish conquest of Gujarat.

The epigraph runs into two lines, and the *écriture* describing the construction of the mosque by one Ṣāliḥ Sulṭānī on the 1st of Ramaḍān, A. H. 732 (27th May, 1332 A. D.) is cut into relief on a slab of white marble (49″ by 12″). But the estampage of the epigraph that Dr. Desai sent me was not very clear, perhaps due to the fact that the slab, as he later informed me, had been thickly coated with paint. I thoroughly appreciate that he took pains over the estampage and also made useful suggestions while I was preparing the text. The style of writing which possesses some characteristics of the *Kūfic* style may be safely termed *Naskh*.

The language of the epigraph is mixed Arabic and Persian and my reading runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبی
صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی لله تعالی مسجدا بنی الله له بیتا فی الجنة

(۲) عمارت این مسجد بعهد دولت خلیفه دینپناه محمد تغلق شاه السلطان بن السلطان خلد
الله خلافته بالعدل و الاحسان .... بنده گناه‌گار امیدوار رحمت پروردگار صالح
سلطانی بقچه دار ماضی فی التاریخ الغره من رمضان سنه اثنی و ثلثین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'And the mosques are for God (alone), so invoke not any one else along with God.' And says the Prophet, peace of Allāh and greetings be on him, 'Whoever built for the exalted Allāh a mosque, Allāh would build for him a house in paradise'.

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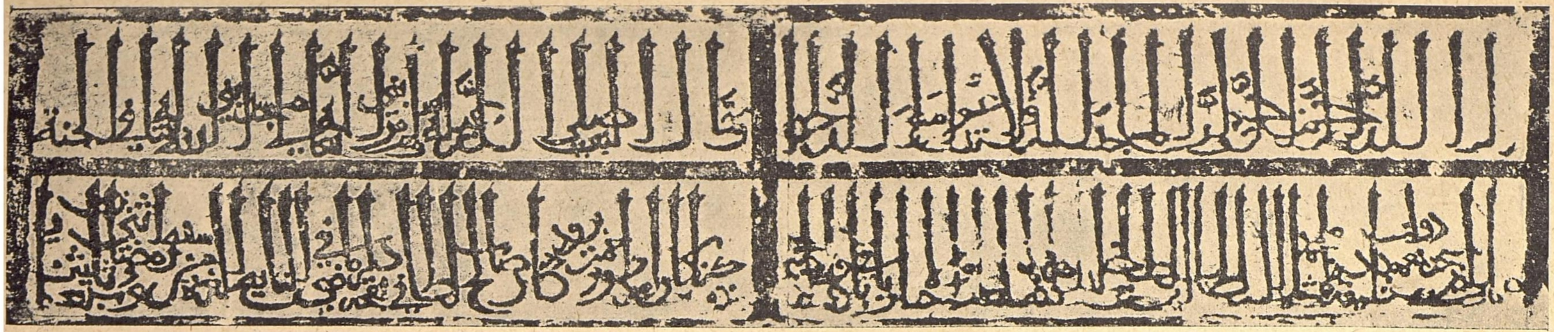
[1] Husain, A. M., op. cit., pp. 169-170 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For a few Arabic and Persian inscriptions from Veraval, see *Ann. Rep. Ind. Epigraphy* for 1954-55, App. C, nos. 168-174.

[4] This inscription was noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 5. But the reading given there is extremely corrupt.

(a) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq, dated A. H. 732, from Veraval (p. 38)



SCALE : ·19

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A. H. 733, from near Daulatabad (p. 39)

SCALE : ·15

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A. H. 733, from Dholka (p. 41)

SCALE : ·14

(2) The sinful slave expectant on the mercy of God, Ṣāliḥ Sulṭānī, former *buqchadār*, constructed the edifice of this mosque during the prosperous reign of the Caliph of the Faith, Muḥammad Shāh the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his caliphate through justice and benevolence ......on the first day of Ramaḍān, year 732 (A. H.=27th May, 1332 A. D.).

Ṣāliḥ, the builder of this mosque, finds no mention in the chronicles. But the term *buqchadār* (literally, a knapsack-bearer) suggests that he was an officer charged with performing or directing the performance of some domestic duty in the royal household. From the *Reḥla* it appears that *Buqchadār* was a servant holding charge of a bundle of silk stuffs and a box containing ornaments.[1]

The fifth inscription is found fixed on the eastern gateway of the enclosure of the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn at Kaghzipura, a village about two miles from Daulatabad towards Khuldabad in Aurangabad district of the Bombay State. This geteway is a later construction and the inscriptional tablet does not belong to it. In fact, the epigraph records the construction of a mosque which is pointed out to be an old mosque situated in the western side of the said enclosure. In the course of some repairs made at this mosque the slab was detached from its proper place and was fixed for consideration of safety in the particular space where it still remains.[2]

The inscription comprises two lines of writing in Persian prose over a surface of 59″ by 8″ on the slab. The style of writing is *Naskh* and the text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(۱) بنا شد این مسجد در عهد خلافت خدایگان روی زمین برگزیدهٔ رب العالمین المؤید بتائید الرحمن ابو المجاهد محمد بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

(۲) بفرمایش بندهٔ درگاه ملک الامرا اختیار الدولت و الدین الغ اعظم قبلی سلطانی المخاطب بنصیر الملک ادام الله دولته فی الرابع عشر من ربیع الاول من ثلث و ثلثین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed during the period of the reign of the lord of the earth, the chosen one of God, the lord of the world, supported by the help of the merciful, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh the king, may God perpetuate his dominion and power,

(2) at the instance of the court-servant Maliku'l-Umarā Ikhtiyāru'd-Dāulat wa'd-Dīn Ulugh A'ẓam Qublī Sulṭānī, entitled Naṣīru'l-Mulk, may God perpetuate his fortune, on the 14th Rabī' I of (the year) three and thirty and seven hundred (A. H.=20th November, 1332 A. D.).

In the list of the courtiers of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Baranī[3] makes mention of one Naṣīru'l-Mulk Qublī who must be identically the same man as the court-servant of the above inscription at whose instance the Kaghzipura mosque was constructed. He also finds

[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., p. 208.

[2] Cf. Muḥammad Raunaq 'Alī, *Rauḍatu'l-Aqṭāb* (Lucknow, 1931), pp. 281-92 where an eye-reading of this inscription will also be found. The same has been copied without acknowledgement by Bashirud-Din Ahmad in his *Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr* (Agra, 1915), pp. 260, 291.

[3] Baranī, op. cit., p. 455.

mention in the Solā Khambha mosque inscription of Bidar published in a previous number of this Series.[1] This Bidar inscription gives in Persian verse the dignified name of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as Sulṭān Muḥammad Khalifa-i-Yazdānī. But a wrong reading of the date in the inscription led to a complete misunderstanding of the epigraph which was erroneously ascribed to Prince Muḥammad, second son of Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī. Misled by the way in which the letter "ه" was inscribed mixed with "ف" on the stone, Dr. Yazdani, who edited the inscription under reference, read "هیصد" in place of "هفتصد". He did not appreciate the three dots over "ه" pertaining to "ف" and "ت" respectively. Further, he did not appreciate the *fatḥa* over "ه" which too suggests that the given "ه" is to be pronounced as *ha* (in *haft*) and not *hī* (in *hīṣad*).[2] As a result, Dr. Yazdani made out 827 in place of 727. Furthermore, he did not appreciate the significance of the term Sulṭān (سلطان) in the imposing Persian verse :

اندر زمن خلیفهٔ یزدانی   سلطان محمد کے ندارد ثانی

Dr. Yazdani translated it as follows :

'The viceggrent of God, Prince Muḥammad who has no equal.'

But in my opinion the correct translation of the above verse is this :

'In the reign of the Caliph of God, Sulṭān Muḥammad, who has no equal.'

Even the calligraphy and the wording in the above verse and the trend of thought and historical traditions and background underlying the wording — all suggestive enough — were not appreciated. Regarding the style of writing Dr. Yazdani himself felt that it belonged to the Tughluq period. 'The style of writing' said he, 'is *Naskh* of a very bold type resembling the script of the Tughluq inscriptions of the Deccan'.[3] Since almost all the Tughluq inscriptions in the Deccan belong to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, I have no hesitation in announcing my conviction that the Bidar inscription under review belongs in every respect to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.[4]

The sixth and the last inscription of the group inspires in a way greater historical interest than did all the preceding inscriptions. It bears silent testimony to the fact that the Hindu and Muslim places of worship and sanctity stood and flourished in medieval India within remarkable proximity without being an eyesore to the orthodox on either side. A case in point is presented by the Qāḍī Buhlūl mosque at Dholka[5] — a place of great sanctity to the Hindus and Jains and abounding in their temples and idol-houses. Dholka is the place of the ancient Virata where the Pandavas are said to have lived in disguise and where subsequently, many religious edifices dedicated to the service of the mythological gods were raised.[6] The Solankis and Vaghelas of Gujarat also considered Dholka as a place of religious inspiration. Even after the advent of Muslims and during the

[1] *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1931-32, p. 27, pl. xvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. xvii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[4] I am grateful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for drawing my attention to this.

[5] In Ahmadabad district of Bombay State. For a description of the mosque, see J. Burgess, op. cit., p. 323 H. Cousens, op. cit.. where a faulty and confusing reading as well as translation of this inscription are given.

[6] Burgess, op. bit.

Khaljī-Tughluq period, Dholka continued to enjoy its sanctity as is confirmed by a few inscriptions of this period.[1] With this historical background, the Dholka mosque under review enjoys an important position.

The inscriptional tablet measuring 48″ × 8″ is fixed over its central *miḥrāb*, and its epigraph unlike the preceding five epigraphs, is cut into the stone. The letters are not carved out in relief as is generally the case with Arabic and Persian inscriptions, but are cut inside the slab as in the case of Sanskrit inscriptions. The Dholka mosque inscription under review gives also the name of the mason which is rarely found recorded in the Indo-Muslim inscriptions of the Sultnate period. Like the preceding inscriptions this inscription too pays rich tribute to Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Further it tends to show that in a province where twelve years later broke out the avalanche which drowned the emperor, conditions were favourable and helpful till the end of A. H. 733 (1333 A. D.). This inscription also makes mention of an officer called *Sardavīdār* whose position at the court of the Dehli Sultans I have discussed in my book.[2]

My reading of the inscription of which the language is mixed Arabic and Persian is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قال الله تعالی [3]و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا عمارت این مسجد در عهد

(۲) سلطان الاعظم ابو المجاهد محمد ابن تغلقشاه و بنوبت ملک [4]ملوک الشرق رکن الدولت و الدین [5]قتلغ سردویدار خاص بنا کردهٔ مفخر الامرا

(۳) مقرب الدولت و الدین هلال [6]ملکی معمار بنده عبد الکریم لطیف فی التاریخ السابع و العشرین من ذی الحجه سنه ثلاث و ثلاثین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate and Merciful. Says Allāh the Exalted, ‘ And verily, the places of worship are for God (alone) ; so invoke not anyone along with God ’. This mosque was constructed in the reign

(2) of the greatest Sulṭān, Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh under the administration of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ruknu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Qutlugh *Sardavīdār-i-khāṣṣ*, It was built by Mafkharu'l-Umarā (lit., pride of nobles)

[1] *Ann. Rep. Ind. Epig.*, 1954-55, App. C., nos. 6, 8-11, etc.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., p. 270.

[3] Cousens, op. cit., omits "و".

[4] *Ibid.* reads "الملوک".

[5] *Ibid.* reads "فتاح سردار یکدل".

[6] *Ibid.* reads "ملای".

(3) Muqarrabu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Hilāl Malikī. The architect (is) the servant 'Abdu'l-Karīm (son of) Laṭīf. On the date 27th of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year three and thirty and seven hundred (8th September, 1333 A. D.).

It is difficult to trace the names of these persons in the chronicles of the period. However, it may be safely stated that *Qutlugh* being a typical Turkish name symbolized a chief, and *Sardavīdār* which is an Arabicised form of *sardawātdār* was the designation of the high-ranked nobility of those days. From the name and titles of the man in the inscription it appears that he was the governor of the province of Gujarat.

PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMER

By Akbar Ali Tirmizi

From the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, Ajmer was not only cynosure of all eyes but adorned the brow of the victor in the race for political supremacy in India, so much so that the history of Ajmer is in one sense the epitome of the history of India. Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, commonly known as Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghorī, conquered Ajmer after defeating Prithvī Rāj in A. H. 588 (1192 A. D.).[1] Next year Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibek had to lead an expedition to suppress the rebellion of Hiraj or Hari Rāj, the brother of Prithvī Rāj.[2] Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish is reported to have visited Ajmer in A. H. 624 (1227 A. D.).[3]

Ajmer remained under the Sultans of Delhi till Rānā Hammīra of Ranthambhor (1282-1301 A. D.) captured it.[4] In A. H. 799 (1396 A.D.), we find Ẓafar Khān of Gujarat marching against it and paying a visit to the shrine of the premier saint of India, Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī.[5] Rānā Kumbha of Mewar (1433-68 A. D.), profiting by the relaxation of authority that ensued upon the sack of Delhi by Tīmūr, took possession of Ajmer,[6] but on his assassination, Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa invaded the city in A. H. 860 (1455 A. D.) and defeated Gajādhar who was in-charge of the fort.[7]

In the year A. H. 922 (1515 A. D.), Rānā Sāngā took possession of Ajmer.[8] Seventeen years later, Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarat sent Shamshiru'l-Mulk against the city which he took by assault,[9] but soon after, in 1535 A. D., Māldev Rāṭhod of Marwar conquered it.[10] Nine years later, it was attacked by Sher Shāh who also paid homage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn.[11] On the decline of the Sūr power, Ḥājī Khān, a slave of Sher Shāh, took possession of Ajmer.[12] Akbar in his turn sent Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Naishāpūrī against him in A. H. 964 (1556 A. D.) and Ḥājī Khān had to flee against the Mughals who annexed Ajmer.[13] From 1557 to 1730 A. D., a period of 173 years, Ajmer remained an integral part of the Mughal empire. Here the *Ṣūbadār* or governor of the province of Ajmer lived, while *Faujdārs* and *Qal'adārs* were posted at important places such as Bairath, Sambhar, Bayana and in forts such as Ranthambhor and elsewhere.[14]

In the civil war fought between Rām Singh, son of Abhay Singh Rāṭhod, the governor of Ajmer under Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and his cousin Bijay Singh, Rām Singh sought help of Jai Appa Sindhia who was only too ready to agree. Later, Bijai Singh surrendered to the

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1 Minhāj Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, Eng. tr. Ravetry (Calcutta, 1873), p. 469, f.n. 9.

2 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. II (Aligarh, 1950), pp. 222-23.

3 Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 19.

4 T. W. Haig, ed., *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 516.

5 Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Bombay, 1890), p. 13.

6 C. C. Watson, *Rajputana District Gazetteer*, vol. I (Ajmer, 1904), p. 10 ; Sarda, ***Maharana Kumbha*** (1932), p. 114, f.n. 10.

7 Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. III, p. 338 ; Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. IV (Calcutta, 1909), p. 222.

8 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Dehlawī, *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār* (Delhi, 1309 A. H.), p. 180.

9 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 235.

10 Sarda, *Ajmer-Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), p. 150.

11 K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah* (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 329-30.

12 Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma (AN)*, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, vol. II (Calcutta, 1912), p. 72.

13 Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī (AA)*, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 379.

14 W. Irivine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1921), p. 42.

Marathas, in 1756 A. D., the fort and district of Ajmer as blood-money for the assassination of Jai Appa. Ṭhe Marathas held it for 31 years until 1787 A. D., when the Rāṭhod retook it but only for a short time. Sindhia's generals laid seige to the fort on the 21st August 1790 A. D. (1205 A. H.) and after having captured it in the following year retained its possession till 1818 A. D. when it was ceded to the British.[1]

Thus Ajmer has been too long the haunt of Turks, Khaljīs (of Malwa), Rāṭhods, Mughals and Marathas to afford much scope to antiquary. It can however boast of one building viz., Aṛhāi Din Kā Jhonpṛā, which is one of the earliest and finest monuments of the Muslim rule in India. It was at the instance of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām that the mosque was built in 1198 A. D., while its seven arches and the exquisite screen were added in about 1226 A. D. during the rule of Iltutmish.[2]

The other building that attracts people from far and near is the tomb of the celebrated saint Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn who passed away in A. H. 633 (1236 A. D.). Until A. H. 860 (1455 A.D.), when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa conquered Ajmer,[3] there was no *pucca* tomb over his remains. The Malwa Sulṭān is reported to have built a mosque near the shrine,[4] but there is no epigraphical evidence at our disposal to confirm this statement. The date of construction of the present structure of the tomb is not given in any historical work ; according to some it was Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khaljī, who at the instance of Khwāja Ḥusain of Nagaur, furnished means of erecting the mausoleum.[5] The Baland Darwāza of the Mausoleum said to have been built by one of the Malwa Sulṭāns[6] also does not bear any inscription. The cupola of the Shrine was embellished in the year A. H. 939 (1532 A. D.) as is indicated by an inscription written in golden letters on the northern wall of the tomb at a height of 7′-8″ from the floor. This date falls in the reign of emperor Humāyūn, who does not seem to have anything to do with Ajmer nor did he visit this city ; on the contrary, Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarat is reported to have sent a noble of his against Ajmer in this particular year.[7] But in view of the absence of any historical evidence, it is difficult to ascribe the embellishment of the dome to any particular individual. The chronogrammatist of the inscription in question, namely, Mu'aẓẓam, however, may be identified with Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, the uncle of emperor Akbar ; Mu'aẓẓam, who died in A. H. 971 (1563 A. D.), used to compose verses.[8]

The Persian inscriptions that are being studied below constitute an important source for the history of the city under the Mughals and show the numerous changes of fortune that have played their part in its history. Covering, on the whole, a period of nearly three and a quarter centuries, they adorn a wide range of monuments such as mosques, mausoleums, tombs, palaces, gates, water-tanks and other buildings.

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[1] Watson, op. cit., p. 12.

[2] *Epig.Indo-Mos.*, 1911-12, pp. 15-30, where the Arabic inscriptions occurring on the mosque have also been published.

[3] Few people are aware of the fact that the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was even in pre-Akbar days visited by royalties. For example, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is reported to have made a journey to Ajmer to pay his homage to the saint ('Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, Agra, 1938, p. 44, verses 8656-57). — Ed.

[4] Firishtā, op. cit., p. 222.

[5] 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, op. cit., p. 78.

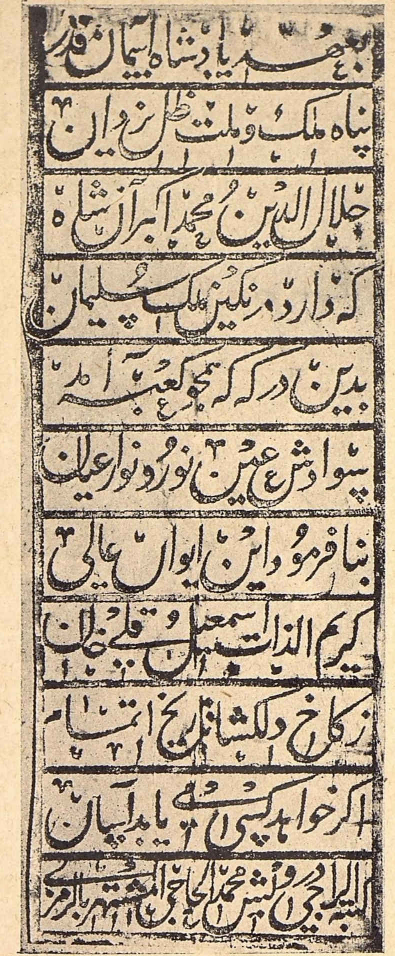
[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Sikandar, op. cit., p. 235.

[8] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 618-22 ; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān Ṭāhir, *Subḥ-i-Gulshan* (Bhopal 1878), p. 430 ; Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, Eng. tr. Wolsley Haig, vol. III (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 466-67.

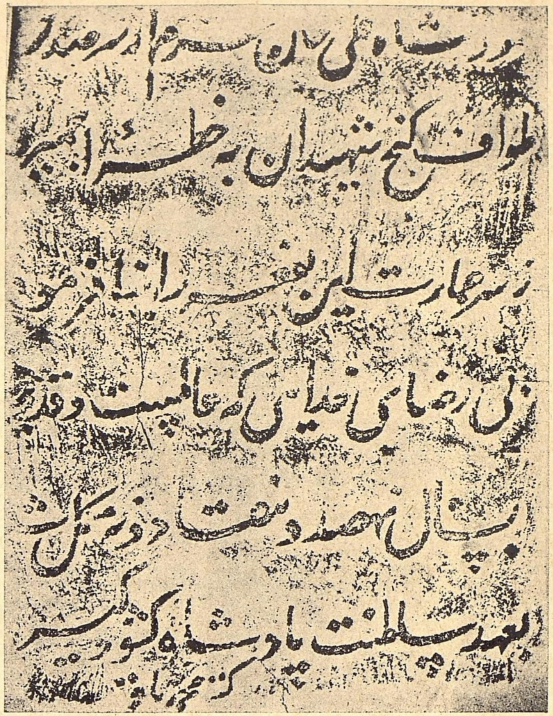
(*a*) Inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 976, from Ajmer (p. 45)

SCALE : ·11



(*b*) Another inscription of Akbar dated A. H. 976, from the same place (p. 46)

SCALE : ·11



(*c*) Another record of Akbar, dated A. H. 979, same place (p. 48)

SCALE : ·16

We do not quite often come across mosques erected by ladies in India, but in Ajmer we find two impressive mosques built by ladies, one of whom was the daughter of the celebrated musician of Akbar's time, Miyān Tān Sain. Another interesting feature worthy of note is that no less than five monuments record in their inscriptions that they had been built by Hindus, among whom we find Maratha governors like Bālā Rāo Inglia and Gumānjī Rāo Sindhia.

It will be noted that the language of these records, unlike that of inscriptions on the Aṛhāi Din Kā Jhonpṛā, is Persian. A majority of them are in verse and the style of writing is in most cases *Nasta'līq*; quite a few of these are remarkable for their beautiful calligraphy. This style of writing reached its zenith during the time of emperor Shāh Jahān to whose reign a number of these inscriptions belong.

In this article, inscriptions covering the reigns of Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shāh Jahān are included, while those of the later reigns which have been studied will appear in the next issue of this journal.

The earliest inscription of the group belongs to Akbar's reign and is found engraved on a slab of white marble measuring 15″ by 38″ fixed into a niche to the right of the central *miḥrāb* of Gaisū Khān's mosque, now called Qalandarī Masjid, situated in the Inder Koṭ quarter of the city. The epigraph is executed in beautiful *Nasta'līq* letters in relief comprising nine horizontal panels, each containing a hemistich in Persian except the last which contains the name of the calligraphist, namely, Ḥājī Darwīsh Muḥammad.[1] The inscription records the construction of a reservoir (*saqqā*) by Gaisū Khān, son of 'Imrān in A. H. 976 (1570 A. D.) during the reign of emperor Akbar. It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

(۱) بعهد حضرت شاه فلک قدر

(۲) پناه دین احمد ظل یزدان

(۳) جلال الدین محمد شاه اکبر

(۴) سکندر حشمت و دار[ا]ی دوران

(۵) بیمن همت خان حسن خلق

(۶) سپهر جود گیسو خان عمران

(۷) ز هجرت نهصد و هفتاد و شش بود

(۸) که شد تعمیر این سقای میران

(۹) کتبه الراجی درویش محمد الحاجی

[1] The metre of the verses is a variation of *Hazaj*.

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of His Majesty, the king having heavenly dignity,

(2) the refuge of the religion of Aḥmad (the Prophet), the shadow of God,

(3) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Shāh-i-Akbar,[1]

(4) (who is) magnificent like Alexandar and the Darius of the age,

(5) through the blessings of the magnanimity of the Khān of Ḥasan-like nature,

(6) the sphere of munificence, Gaisū Khān, son of ' Imrān,

(7) it was in the year nine hundred and seventysix of the Hijra,

(8) when this *Saqqā-i-Mīrān* (reservoir of the nobles) was constructed.

(9) Written by the hopeful (creature), Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Ḥājī.

Another inscription of Gaisū Khān recording the construction of an 'Idgāh at Koil near Aligarh has been published in a previous issue of this Series where a detailed account of his career is given.[2] As regards the calligraphist, Darwīsh Muḥammad, no details are forthcoming. He is probably identical with Maulānā Darwīsh Muḥammad mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl in his list of calligraphists.[3]

Another monument of the reign of Akbar is the Baland Darwāza (lit., lofty gateway) leading to the shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār,[4] at Taragadh. The gateway itself, about 64 feet high and 17 feet wide, is built of red sandstone, while the floor is of white marble. Religious texts may be seen carved in relief around the arch facing east, above the arch facing the tomb and on the inside of the southern wall of the gateway. On its northern side is fixed a marble slab (21″ by 52″) bearing an inscription carved in *Nasta'līq* characters in relief designed by the same caligraphist as in the previous inscription. The epigraph which records the construction of the lofty gateway to the 'Ka'ba-like' tomb, by Ismā'īl Qulī Khān in A. H. 976 (1570 A. D.), reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(۱) بعہد پادشاه آسمان قدر

(۲) پناه ملک و ملت ظل یزدان

(۳) جلال الدین محمد اکبر آن شاه

(۴) که دارد در نگین ملک سلیمان

(۵) بدین درگه که همچو کعبه آمد

[1] Shāh-i-Akbar literally means ' the greatest king '.

[2] *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, p. 8, pl. V a. Also, *Islamic Culture* (July, 1947), pp. 243-44.

[3] Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., p. 101, f.n. 4. (It seems that Darwīsh Muḥammad was something of a professional calligraphist. Among inscriptions carved by him are apart from the next one—from Taragadh —two at Nagaur in Jodhpur District. Vide, *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1949-50, p. 39, pl. XVII (*b*), and *Epig. Ind.-A. & P. Suppl*, 1955 and 56, p. 61, pl. XVI b. — Ed.)

[4] Late Professor Hafiz Mahmud Khan Shirani who has given a critical and scholarly account of Sayyid Ḥusain after consulting all available sources, has noticed some inscriptions from the tomb including the one under study in his masterly work *Prithvī Rāj Rāsā* (Delhi, 1943), pp. 242-61.—Ed.

(٦) سوادش عین نور و نور اعیان

(٧) بنا فرمود این ایوان عالی

(٨) کریم الذات اسمعیل قلی خان

(٩) ز کاخ دلکشا تاریخ اتمام

(١٠) اگر خواهد کسی می یابد آسان

(١١) کتبه الراجی درویش محمد الحاجی المشتهر بالرمزی

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the king having heavenly dignity,

(2) asylum of the state and the community, shadow of God,

(3) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, that king

(4) who has got in his bazel (i.e., under authority) the kingdom of Ṣolomon,

(5) in this mausoleum which has come to be regarded as Ka'ba —

(6) whose environs are a fountain of light and light of eyes[1] —

(7) this sublime *aiwān* (porch) was raised by

(8) Ismā'īl Qulī Khān of noble lineage.

(9) The date of its completion in (the words) : *a pleasant palace,*

(10) one can easily find if he so desires.

(11) Written by Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Ḥājī, alias a'r-Ramzī.

Ismā'īl Qulī Khān of the inscription was a son of Walī Baig Dhu'l-Qadar and nephew, on sister's side, of Bairam Khān. Along with his elder brother, Ḥusain Qulī Khān entitled Khān Jahān,[2] he was caught in a battle at Jalandhar when both entered royal service. He was sent against the Baluchis in the 30th regnal year of Akbar (1584-85 A. D.) and to Zābulistān in the following year. Charged with having committed certain improprieties, he fell into disgrace and was ordered to go to Mecca from Bhakkar. In the regnal year 33 (1588-89 A. D.), he was made governor of Gujarat and three years later, was appointed tutor of prince Murād when the latter was appointed governor of Malwa. He received the command of 4000 horse in the regnal year 42 (1597-98 A. D.). Given to luxury and extravagant taste for carpets, vessels, dresses, etc., he is alleged to have been poisoned by his own women who were fed up with his petty tyranny.[3]

The third inscription in chronological order is to be found over the entrance of the enclosure of the Ganj-i-Shahīdān at Taragadh overlooking the city of Ajmer. The inscription which is in relief in *Nasta'līq* characters is carved on a marble slab measuring about 21″ by 28″, fixed at a height of

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[1] *A'yān* means eyes, fountains and also '*A'yān-i-Thābita*' meaning figures emblematic of the names of God.

[2] Ḥusain Qulī Khān was given Ajmer and Nagaur as *tuyūl* in A. H. 971 (1563 A.D.). For an account of his career and inscriptions, see *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1949-50, p. 39 ; *E. I., A. & P. Supp.*, op. cit., p. 61. — Ed.

[3] Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., pp. 348-51, 388-89 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 105-07.

9′8″ from the floor. The text comprises three verses[1] written in six lines followed by one more giving the name of the calligraphist. It records the construction of an edifice by Shāh Qulī Khān in A. H. 979 (1571 A. D.) and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI (*c*)

(۱) نمود شاه قلی خان محرم از سر صدق

(۲) طواف گنج شهیدان به خطهٔ اجمیر

(۳) ز سر عمارت این بقعه را بنا فرمود

(۴) پئی رضای خدائی که عالمست و قدیر

(۵) بسال نهصد و هفتاد و نه مکمل شد

(۶) بعهد سلطنت بادشاه کشور گیر

(۷) کتبه محمد باقر

TRANSLATION

(1) Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, by way of truthful intention,

(2) performed the circumambulations of Ganj-i-Shahīdān in the region of Ajmer.

(3) He raised the edifice of this place afresh,

(4) for the pleasure of God, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent.

(5) In the year nine hundred and seventynine it was completed,

(6) during the reign of the king, the conqueror of dominions (*i.e.*, Akbar).

(7) Written by Muḥammad Bāqir.

Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram was in the service of Bairam Khān and had distinguished himself in the war with Hīmū. In the first regnal year of Akbar (1556-7 A.D.), he served with Muḥammad Qāsim of Naishāpūr against Ḥājī Khān in Nagaur and Ajmer. After the death of Bairam Khān, he was rapidly promoted rising higher and higher in the favour of Akbar who, from good-will towards him, had permitted him entry to his female apartments. After his first entry to the royal harem he had himself manumitted. Consequently, he was called Maḥram *i.e.*, one who is admitted to the harem. We are told that at Narnaul, where he chiefly lived, he had got erected splendid buildings and dug large tanks.[2]

It would not be out of place to note in this connection that at Ajmer, on the 2nd Jumādī I, A. H. 979 (9th September, 1572 A. D.), Akbar was blessed with a third son who was named Dānyāl as he was born in the house of Shaikh Dānyāl, then one of the attendants of the Mausoleum.[3] It would not be surprising if Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram had accompanied Akbar's harem to Ajmer in this year,

[1] The metre of these verses is a variant of *Mujtathth*.

[2] Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, vol. I, op. cit., pp. 387-88.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 322; Badāyūnī, op. cit., vol. II, Eng. tr. Lowe (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 143-44.

The courtyard to the east of the Begamī Dālān, separated from the Mausoleum by a marble railing, is studded with tombs, some of which deserve notice. One of the tombs appears, from its inscription, to be that of one Muḥammad Wafā. The slab of marble fixed to the north of the grave measures 9″ by 6″ and contains the fundamental formula of Islam executed in *Naskh* characters, while the grave itself is inscribed in *Nastaʿlīq* in relief, with a single verse in Persian giving a chronogram for the death of Muḥammad Wafā, which occurred in A. H. 984 (1576 A. D.). The inscription runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول (*sic.*) الله

(۲) محمد وفا رفت تاریخ او

(۳) محمد وفا راه حق یافت گو

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.

(2) Muḥammad Wafā passed away ; for the chronogram,

(3) say, ‘*Muḥammad Wafā took to the path of God*’.

It is regretted that the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Muḥammad Wafā.

The next inscription, in chronological order, referring to the embellishment of the dome of Khwāja Muʿīnu'd-Dīn in A. H. 987 (1579 A. D.), is painted in beautiful golden letters in *Nastaʿlīq* style inside the three sides of the dome. It reads as follows :—

TEXT[1]

(۱) خواجهٔ خواجگان معین الدین   اشرف اولیاء روی زمین

(۲) آفتاب سپهر کون و مکان   بادشاه سریر ملک یقین

(۳) در جمال و کمال آن چه سخن   این مبین بود بحصن حصین

(۴) مطلعی در صفات او گفتم   در عبارت بود چو در ثمین

(۵) ای درت قبله گاه اهل یقین   بر درت مهر و ماه سوده جبین

(۶) روی بر درگهت همین سایند   صد هزاران ملک چو خسرو چین

(۷) خادمان درت همه رضوان   در صفا روضهات چو خلد برین

[1] The plate could not be given, as taking photographs inside the tomb proper is prohibited.—Ed.

(۸) ذرهٔ خاک او عبیر سرشت   قطرهٔ آب او چو ماء معین

(۹) جانشین معین خواجه حسین   بهر نقاشی[1] بگفت چنین

(۱۰) که شود رنگ تازه کهنه ز نو   قبهٔ خواجهٔ معین الدین

(۱۱) الهی تا بود خورشید و ماهی   چراغ چشتیان را روشنائی

TRANSLATION

(1) Lord of the lords, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, most eminent of all the saints of the world, (is the)

(2) sun of the sphere of universe, king of the throne of the dominion of Faith.[2]

(3) What room is there for doubt as regards his beauty and perfection? This is evident from the fortified citadel.[3]

(4) I have composed (another) *Maṯla'*[4] in his praise, which, in its style, is like a precious pearl:

(5) Oh ye, whose door is an altar for the faithful; (even) the sun and the moon rub their forehead at thine threshold.

(6) It is at thine door that their foreheads are rubbed by hundred thousands of kings (each as mighty) as the emperor of China.

(7) The attendants of thine shrine are all (like) Riḍwān (the keeper of Paradise), (while) in sanctity thine shrine is like the sublime heaven.

(8) A particle of its dust is like ambergris in nature; a drop of its water is like limpid (pure) water.

(9) The locum-tenens of Mu'īn (namely), Khwāja Ḥusain, for the embellishment said this

(10) that 'the old may assume fresh hue anew, the dome of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn'.

(11) Oh Lord! As long as the sun and moon endure, may the lamp of the Chishtīs possess light!

Khwāja Ḥusain mentioned in verse No. 9 was the superintendent of the shrine, when Akbar visited Ajmer in A. H. 977 (1569 A. D.) consequent on the birth of Salīm. He considered himself to be a descendant of the Khwāja from his daughter's side.[5] He was once banished to Mecca and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions.[6] He lies buried in a tomb at the back of the Shāh Jahānī Masjid adjacent to the Mausoleum.

In the enclosure of the Mausoleum, near the small cauldron and adjacent to the Ḥujra of Niẓāmu'l-Mashāikh, is a marble sarcophagus which bears an inscription in relief executed in *Nasta'līq* characters. The epigraph comprising four verses in Persian inscribed in four panels

[1] "نقاشیش" might have been intended in the original reading which could not be verified for want of reproduction. In the alternative, the reading "نقاشیٔ" with the indefinite article only would conform to metre.—Ed.

[2] Verses nos. 2, 6 and 11, not found in Akbar Jahān, *Aḥsanu's-Siyar* (Agra, A.H. 1320), p. 36, and Imamud-Din, *Mu'īnu'l-Awliyā* (Ajmer, A. H. 1345), p. 274, may have been later additions.

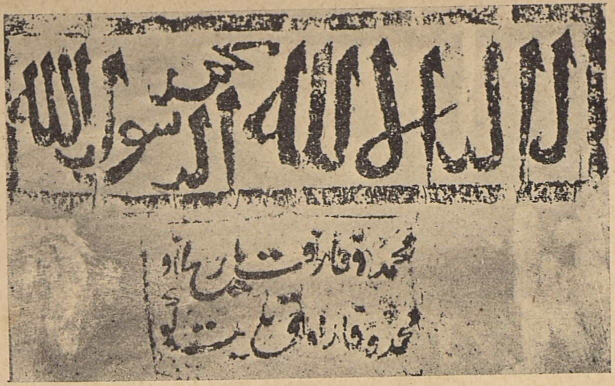
[3] Ḥiṣn-i-Ḥaṣīn means a strong fortress that protects him who has recourse to it for refuge. Here perhaps it stands for the Mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'inu'd-Dīn. (The idea conveyed in this verse is not clear. It would not be surprising if the reading of the verse is faulty.—Ed.)

[4] Introductory verse.

[5] Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 511.

[6] Badāyūnī, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 136-41.

(*a*) An epitaph of Muḥammad Wafā, dated A. H. 984,
from Ajmer (p. 49)

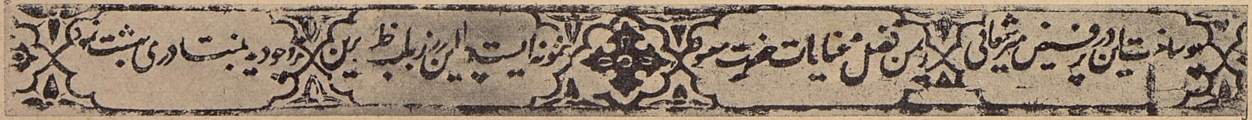


SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Epitaph of Khusraw Khān, dated A. H. 1021, same place (p. 51)

SCALE : ·2

(*c*) Inscription of a Gateway, dated A. H. 1021, from the same place (p. 51)



SCALE : ·12

on the right and left sides of the sarcophagus[1] records the demise of one Khusraw Khān who is mentioned as having hailed from Sindh. The date of his death A. H. 1021 (1612 A.D.) is found in the phrase "جایش بهشت" (paradise is his abode)[2] and falls in the reign of Jahāngīr. The text of the inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

(۱) آن خسرو خان که دست جودش — از دل غم فقر و فاقه می شست

(۲) از خطهٔ سند بود عمری — بس گوهر عدل و داد را سفت

(۳) آخر بگذاشت این جهانرا — خوش رفت و بعالم بقا خفت

(۴) از دل جستم چو سال فوتش — جایش بهشت هاتفم گفت

TRANSLATION

(1) That Khusraw Khān, the hand of whose munificence used to wipe away the anxiety of poverty and want from the heart ;

(2) he was an 'Umar hailing from the region of Sindh ; he bored many a pearl of justice and equity.

(3) Ultimately, he departed from this world ; he went happy and slept in the ever-lasting world.

(4) When I sought from the heart the year of his demise, a voice from the invisible said, '*His abode is paradise*'.[3]

Abu'l-Faḍl informs us that one Khusraw Khān Chirgis was a servant of Mīrzā Ghāzī Baig Tarkhān on whom emperor Akbar had conferred Sindh. After the death of Ghāzī Baig in A. H. 1018 (1609 A. D.), Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns but Jahāngīr bestowed his favours on Mīrzā 'Īsā Khān.[4] This Khusraw Khān is likely to be the one referred to in the epitaph.

The gateway situated to the north of the Mausoleum flanked by the Maḥfil Khāna on the west and a water-room on the east bears a Persian inscription engraved in relief and executed in beautiful *Nasta'līq* characters on a slab of marble measuring 86″ × 10″ and fixed at a height of 12′ 3″ from the floor. The inscription which records the construction of the gateway by one Mīr Sham'ānī in A. H. 1021 (1612 A. D.), consists of two verses[5] inscribed in four horizontal panels each containing a hemistich. It runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

چو ساخت این در پر فیض میر شمعانی — ز یمن فضل و عنایات حضرت معبود

نمونه ایست چو این در ز باب خلد برین — خرد چو دید بگفتا دری بهشت نمود

---

[1] The writing occupies a total space of 53″ lengthwise and 2½″ breadthwise.

[2] The present reading of the last hemistich does not conform to the metre. On scrutiny the correct reading of the phrase comprising the chronogram will be found to be "جایش ببهشت". The phrase, meaning 'His place is in paradise', yields A. H. 1023, which, and not A. H. 1021, would be Khusraw Khān's date of death.—Ed.

[3] Please see note 2 above.—Ed.

[4] Abul'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 392.

[5] It is composed in a variant form of *Mujtathth*.

TRANSLATION

When this doorway, replete with beneficence, was built by Mīr Sham'ānī, (it was) through the bounty and favours of Almighty God.

Since this door is a replica of the gateway of the sublime paradise, when reason beheld (it), it said, '(It is) *a gateway resembling paradise*'.

It is regretted that no notice of Mīr Sham'ānī could be traced in the sources at our disposal.

Another relic of the reign of Jahāngīr is a stone elephant bearing an inscription dated A. H. 1022 (1613 A. D.). It is to be found in a private house situated opposite the Gujarati school in the quarter now known as Hāthī Bhāṭa after this stone elephant (Hāthī=Elephant, Bhāṭā=stone). The figure of the elephant, carved out of single granite rock in a sitting posture, is in a good state of preservation but its trunk and ears are slightly damaged.[1] The inscription is engraved, in *Nasta'līq* characters in relief, on the right side of the elephant and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (*a*)

(۱) تاریخ فیل سنگ شد از حکمت اله

(۲) این کوه پاره فیل جهانگیر بادشاه

(۳) ۱۰۲۲

TRANSLATION

(1) The chronogram of this stone elephant, by Divine mystery, came out (to be) :

(2) '*This piece of rock — the elephant of emperor Jahāngīr*'.

(3) (A. H.) 1022.

It may be noted here that Jahāngīr came to Ajmer on Monday, the 5th Shawwāl, A. H. 1022 (18th November, 1613 A. D.) and left for Mandu on the 1st Dhi'l-Qa'da, A. H. 1025 (10th November, 1616 A. D.).[2]

The fourth inscription of the reign of Jahāngīr is to be found over the door of a room in the southern Dālān in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār at Taragadh. The dālān is commonly known as Maulvī Ṣāḥeb Kā Dālān. From the text of the inscription it appears that it does not belong to the present site but was brought and fixed there in order to save it from being lost. According to the *Aḥsanu's-Siyar*, it originally belonged to the eastern gate of the Ganj-i-Shahīdān and was lying in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Sayyid Ḥusain when that book was written.[3] The slab of marble containing the epigraph is fixed at a height of about 7 feet from the floor. The record comprises six verses in Persian, executed in

[1] An account of this elephant with an imperfect notice of the inscription is given in U. C. Bhattacharya, 'Relics of Jahangir's Reign', *Modern Review*, September, 1954, pp. 221-22.

[2] Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. Rogers, vol. I (London, 1909), pp. 1, 340.

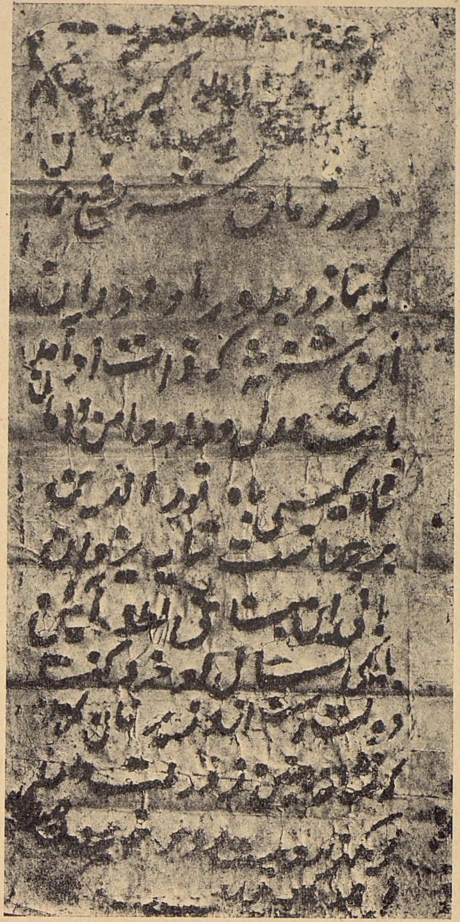
[3] Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 127.

PLATE XIII

dated A. H. 1022, at Ajmer (p. 52)

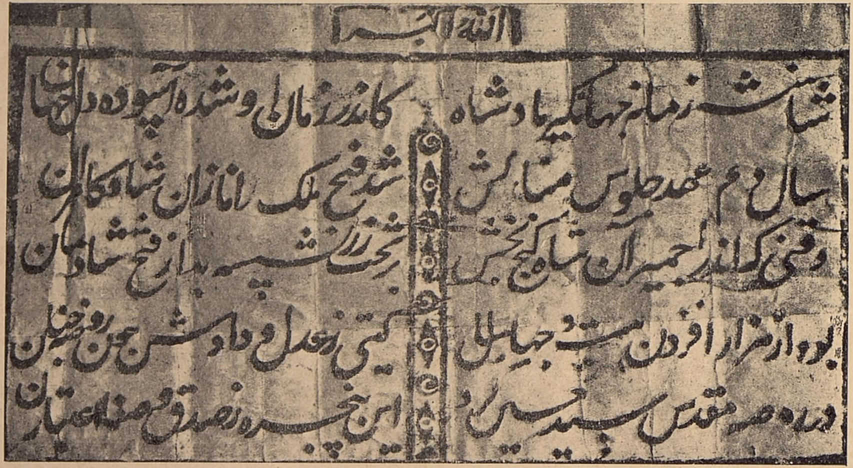
SCALE : ·23

(*b*) Another inscription of Jahāngīr, dated A. H. 1022, from Taragadh (p. 53)



SCALE : ·25

(*c*) Inscription of the same emperor, dated A. H. 1024, from the same place (p. 54)



SCALE : ·23

Nasta'līq of a fairly good type. It records the construction of some edifice by Daulat on behalf of Wazīr Khān-i-Kalān. It also mentions Khoja Daulat Darbārī and Ṭālib-i-Khurd, the latter as the composer of the chronogram. The text of the inscription is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) در زمان شه رفیع مکان

(۳) که بنازد بدور او دوران

(۴) آن شهنشه که ذات او آمد

(۵) باعث عدل و داد و امن و امان

(۶) شاه گیتی پناه نور الدین

(۷) بر جهانست سایهٔ یزدان

(۸)[1] بانئی این بنای لطف آئین

(۹) با یکی سال او خرد [2]گفت آن

(۱۰) دولت است از وزیر خان کلان

(۱۱) [3]که نشانه چنین ز دولت دان

(۱۲)[4] یکهزار و بیست و دو خوجه دولت درباری

(۱۳) قایله طالب خورد

---

[1] The seventh hemistich should follow the eighth. This seems to be an engraver's error. The fact is the engraver's mistake lies in not making the seventh hemistich precede the eighth, but in engraving nineth hemistich before tenth. The sequence of hemistiches 8-11 should be :

(۸) بانی این بنای لطف آئین

(۹) دولت است از وزیر خان کلان

(۱۰) با یکی سال او خرد گفتا

(۱۱) که نشانه چنین ز دولت دان

Moreover, it has not been shown as to how the date A. H. 1022 is yielded by the chronogram. The words "نشانه چنین ز دولت دان" yield 1021 to which 1 is to be added as the poet says in the 9th line (8th in the plate) that 'The Reason gave its date *with* One' *i.e.*, with an additional 1. Of course, there is a pun on "با یکی" which also means '(Reason said) to one'.—Ed.)

[2] The reading is clearly "گفتا" in the estampage.—ED.

[3] Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 128, reads "کم نشان".

[4] The last two lines are not to be found in *ibid.*

TRANSLATION

(1) God is great.
(2) During the reign of the king of exalted position,
(3) in whose regime, the cycle of Time takes pride ;
(4) that emperor whose person has come to be
(5) the cause of justice, equity, peace and tranquility ;
(6) the king, (who is) the asylum of the world (namely), Nūru'd-Dīn (Jahāngīr),
(7) who in the world is the shadow of God ;
(8) Reason said to one[1] as its chronogram,
(9) 'The builder of this elegant edifice
(10) is Daulat on behalf of Wazīr Khān-i-Kalān.
(11) *Consider but a few matches for this Daulat*'[2].
(12) One thousand and twenty-two. Khoja Daulat Darbārī.
(13) Its composer (is) Ṭālib-i-Khurd.

Wazīr Khān-i-Kalān, one of the personages mentioned in the inscription, may be identified with Wazīr Khān Muqīm, who was given the wazirship of his dominion by emperor Akbar and the title of Wazīr Khān towards the close of his reign. Jahāngīr had also, on his accession, conferred on him the same title, rank and service. He passed away in A. H. 1029 (1620 A. D.).[3] Khoja Daulat Darbārī, the other person, who is the builder, cannot be identified, while as far as Ṭālib-i-Khurd, the composer of the text, is concerned, he should not be confused with his more celebrated namesake, Ṭālib Āmulī who was made poet-laureate by Jahāngīr in A. H. 1028 (1619 A. D.). The appelletion 'Khurd' (junior) to his name indicates that he was a lesser known contemporary of his celebrated name-sake.

The next inscription, in chronological sequence, is engraved in relief on a slab of marble (2'×1'2"), fixed over the southern entrance of the railing of the shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing Sawār at Taragadh. It is executed in beautiful *Nasta'līq* style and contains five verses[4] written horizontally. It may be read thus :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) شاهنشه زمانه جهانگیر بادشاه کاندر زمان او شده آسوده دل جهان

(۳) سال دهم [ز] عهد جلوس مبارکش شد فتح ملک رانا زآن شاه کامران

(۴) وقتیکه اندر اجمیر آن شاه گنج بخش بر تخت زر نشسته بد از فتح شادمان

(۵) بود از هزار افزون بیست و چهار سال گیتی ز عدل و دادش چون روضهٔ جنان

(۶) در روضهٔ مقدس سید حسین کرد این پنجره ز صدق و صفا اعتبار خان

---

[1] See my note in f.n. 1 on the preceding page—Ed.

[2] In the translation of this hemistich, Mr. Tirmizi has inadvertently taken the words "که نشانه" as "کم نشان" a reading of Akbar Jahān which he had correctly rejected, *vide*, f. n. 3, p. 53. The correct translation of the verse would be : Reason with one (more), gave its date saying, '*know such a monument (to be) from Daulat*'.—Ed.

[3] Jahāngīr, op. cit., p. 13 ; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 167 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 932-33.

[4] The metre of these varses is a variant of *Muḍāri*.'

TRANSLATION

(1) God is great.

(2) Emperor of the age is Jahāngīr the king, in whose reign, the heart of the world is at rest.

(3) In the tenth year of his auspicious accession to the throne, the country of the Rānā was subjugated by that triumphant king.

(4) At the time when, at Ajmer, that treasure-bestowing monarch sat on the golden throne, being happy on account of the victory,

(5) it was twenty and four years added to one thousand, and due to his justice and equity, the world was like the garden of paradise.

(6) (At that time) in the holy shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain, was constructed this *Pinjra* (lattice-railing), out of sincerity and truthfulness, by I'tibār Khān.

I'tibār Khān of the inscription was one of the nobles serving under Jahāngīr. On the 10th of Rabī'I in the tenth regnal year *i.e.*, A. H. 1024 (1615 A. D.), he came to Ajmer and waited on the emperor. He was promoted to the ṣūba of Agra on the 19th of Jamādī I of the seventeenth regnal year *i.e.*, A. H. 1031 (1622 A. D.), and on the 1st Urdī Bihisht of the following year, he was given the title of Mumtāz Khān.[1] It may be pointed out that the triumph of the imperial troops under prince Khurram over Rānā Amar Singh of Mewar in A. H. 1023 (1614 A. D.) was celebrated with great pomp at the royal court, then at Ajmer, and about that time Jahāngīr and his nobles built several buildings in Ajmer and its environs.[2]

One of the most beautiful spots that Ajmer can very well boast of is the lovely valley to the west of the fortress of Taragadh. This romantic spot hoary with age is one of the secrets of history. The name by which this place was originally known is enveloped in darkness. Bībī Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl, the daughter of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn is said to have lived here for sometime as a religious recluse and hence the place came to be called Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl.[3] A relic of historical as well as archaeological interest to be found in the valley is the massive unfinished water-lift said to have been built by Rāo Māldeva of Marwar who took possession of Ajmer in 1535 A. D.[4] Sher Shāh after defeating Māldeva in 1544 A. D. went up the Taragadh and as there was scarcity of water in the fortress, he thought of bringing water from the Chashma Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl to the fort. He appointed renowned architects for this purpose and named the fountain as Sher Chashma after his own name.[5]

Another relic found just near the water-lift is a palace in a ruined state, on the summit of whose vault is to be found a Persian inscription in verse.[6] This inscription is carved in relief on three pieces of marble which jointly measure 14′ 8″ × 1′ 6″. It is fixed at a height of about 26 feet from the ground. The record comprises seven verses in Persian written horizontally in three panels in *Nasta'līq* of a high order. The name of the calligraphist is given as 'Abdu'llāh at the end. The record states that the palace was built at the behest of emperor Jahāngīr in the 10th regnal year (A. H. 1024=1615 A. D.), also recorded in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.

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[1] Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 282 ; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 231-32, 258.

[2] Cf. *Epig. Indo-Mos.*, 1923-24, pp. 21-22, where the Persian inscription occurring on the royal palace at Pushkar has been published.

[3] Watson, op. cit., vol. II, p. 62.

[4] Sarda, op. cit., p. 39.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[6] The metre is a variation of *Hazaj*.

It also states that the site where the ruins of the palace stand was christened Chashma-i-Nūr by the emperor. We gather from the *Tūzuk* that Jahāngīr visited the Chashma of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl on the 28th February, 1614 A. D. and he came to like the place so much that he ordered a palace to be built there. Accordingly, in the course of a year a house and grounds were made there. A basin, 40 by 40 yards, was constructed and the water of the spring was made to rise up in the basin by a fountain. The fountain, it is said, leapt up to a height of 10 or 12 yards. Buildings were laid on the edge of this basin and in the same way, above, where the tank and fountain were situated, enchanting halls and resting rooms were constructed in a masterly style by skilled painters and clever artists. The place was then named Chashma-i-Nūr or the 'Fountain of Light' after the name of the emperor. Sa'īdā-i-Gīlānī,[1] the head of the goldsmiths, discovered the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.[2] Sir Thomas Roe, who was in Ajmer at that time visited this place on the 1st March, 1616 A. D. and has left for us a beautiful description of this lovely place, its handsome little garden with fine fountains and two tanks, one 30 steps above another.[3] The fondness that Jahāngīr had developed for this romantic spot can be judged from the fact that he visited it thirty-eight times during his stay of about three years at Ajmer.[4] But the garden and fountains referred to above have succumbed to the ravages of times and of the tanks only one remains in front of the dālān made of red-stone. On the roof of the dālān there are two dilapidated rooms. The tank and the dālān are also in ruins. The vault of the dālān bears the inscription under study which runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate XIV

(۱) بلند اقبال شاه هفت کشور   که وصف او نمیگنجد بتقریر

(۲) فروغ خاندان شاه اکبر   شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر

(۳) [بد]ین سرچشمه چون آمد ز فیضش   روان شد آب و خاکش گشت اکسیر

(۴) شهنشه کرد نامش چشمهٔ نور   شده آب خضر زو چاشنی گیر

(۵) دهم سال [ا]ز جلوس شاه غازی   بحکم بادشاه نیک تدبیر

(۶) بطرف چشمهٔ نور این عمارت   جهان آرای شد از روی تقدیر

(۷) خرد تاریخ اتمامش رقم زد   محل شاه نور الدین جهانگیر

(۸)[5] کتبه عبد الله

---

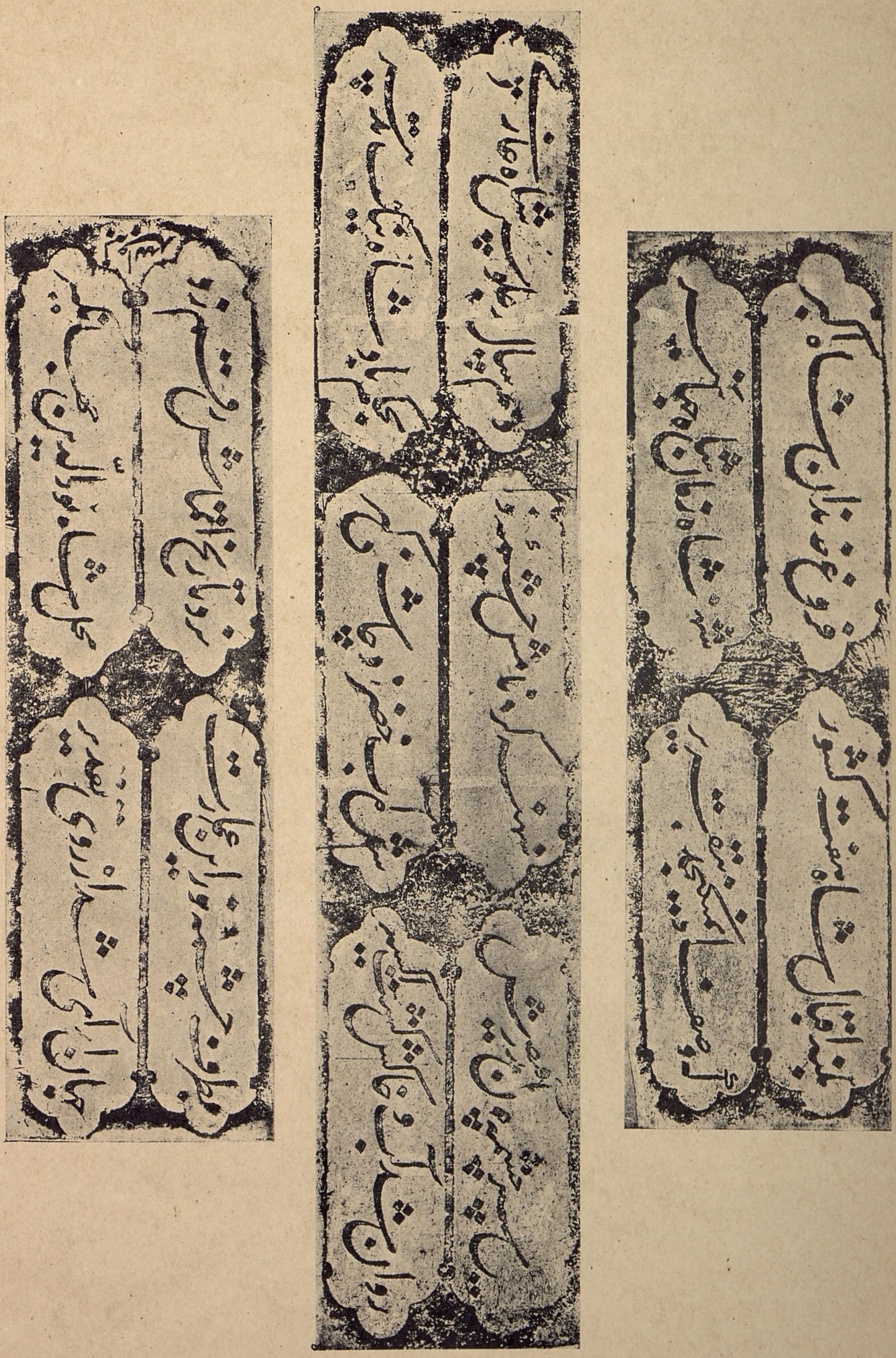
[1] He came to India in the reign of Jahāngīr and was included in the list of poets. In the reign of Shāh Jahān he received the title of Bībadal Khān. The peacock-throne was finished by him and as a reward for this he was weighed against gold (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Calcutta, 1912), vol. III, pp. 418-20 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 405-8.

[2] Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 269-70.

[3] Foster, W., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (London, 1926), p. 121.

[4] Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 341. (For another contemporary account of the place and its being used as a favourite pleasure-resort, see 'Abdu'n-Nabī, *Mai Khāna*, Lahore, 1926, pp. 504 ff.—Ed.)

[5] Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 84, who has given a reading of this inscription, omits this part of the text giving the name of the calligraphist.



Inscription of Jahāngīr from Chashma-i-Nūr, Ajmer, dated A. H. 1024 (p. 56)

SCALE : ·12

TRANSLATION

(1) The king of seven climes, of lofty fortune, whose praise cannot be contained in speech ;

(2) the lustre of the house of king Akbar, emperor of the age, the king Jahāngīr,

(3) when he visited this fountain, through his bounty, water began to flow and its dust turned into elixir.

(4) The emperor gave it the name 'Chashma-i-Nūr' (Fountain of Light) from which the water of Immortality acquires its relish.

(5) In the tenth year from the accession of that king, the holy Champion, at the behest of that king of wise counsel,

(6) on the bank of the Chashma-i-Nūr, this edifice adorned the world as was destined.

(7) Wisdom wrote the chronogram of its completion (thus : it is) *'the palace of king Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr'*.

(8) It was written by 'Abdu'llāh.

As regards the calligraphist, it can be safely presumed that he is identical with Mīr 'Abdu'llāh Tirmidhī, an elegant poet who also wrote an excellent *Nasta'līq* hand for which he received from Jahāngīr the title of Mushkīn Qalam. He died in A. H. 1035 (1625 A.D.) and his tomb stands at a place in Agra called Nagla Jawahir.[1]

About nine miles to the north-east of Ajmer is the small village of Gangawana which is much associated with the Mughal period of Indian history. It was here that the famous battle between Rājādhirāj Bakht Singh of Nagaur and Sawāi Jai Singh of Jaipur was fought in 1743 A. D. resulting in the defeat of the latter.[2] This small village possesses some relics of antiquarian interest. In the outskirts of the village beside the Ajmer-Kishengadh road there is an old step-well, commonly known as Bhikājī kī Bāorī, bearing an inscription in Persian verse which has been noticed by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, but he has given neither the complete text nor its translation.[3] The three hemistiches deciphered by Mr. Bhattacharya are fairly correct but there are two words regarding whose reading I differ from him. The inscription is incised on a marble slab measuring 1′ 6″ by 6′ 6″ which is fixed on the side-wall facing the west. It comprises five verses in Persian[4] and has been executed in fairly good *Nasta'līq* style. At the end of the lines which run vertically is carved an effigy of an elephant nicely executed. Just beneath this couchant elephant, an *ankus* (impeller) and *doshul* (bident) are beautifully carved. The text deciphered by me is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(۱) الله اکبر جل جلاله

(۲) چو گجهست خان محض خیر است و احسان

(۳) شده شهره در دهر از لطف بارے

(۴) .... تعمیر سرداپه ....

[1] Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1884), p. 9. (For an account of the three inscriptions—two on the tomb and one on the mosque of Mushkīn Qalam—composed by his son, Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kashfī, see the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 162-63. A biography entitled *Fātiḥu'l-Qulūb* describing him as a saint is numbered 650 in the catalogue of the India Office Library.—Ed.)

[2] Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 282.

[3] Bhattacharya, op. cit.

[4] The metre is *Mutaqārib*.

(٥) که ماند در [ا]یام ازو یادگارے

(٦) زلالے بر آمد ازان حوض کوثر

(٧) که شد حور عین طالب کاسه داری

(٨) خرد از پی سال تاریخ او شد

(٩) بدانش موافق دل از هوشیاری

(١٠) که جبریل معنی بگوشش خبر داد

(١١) که تاریخ سردابه شد خیر جاری

(١٢) سنه ١٠٢٤

TRANSLATION

(1) God is great. Exalted be His Glory.

(2) When Gajhast Khān, who is summum bonum and bounty,

(3) earned renown in the world due to Divine favour,

(4) ....construction of a *sardāba*.................

(5) so that it may serve as a souvenir for him in the world.

(6) (Such) limpid water gushed forth from that reservoir of *Kauthar*

(7) that maidens of paradise were solicitious of its cup-bearership.

(8) For the chronogram of its year, Reason became

(9) in conformity with Wisdom through prudence,

(10) when the Gabriel of reality whispered into its ear the information

(11) that the chronogram of the grotto was *Flowing bounty*.

(12) Year 1024 (A.H.).

The chronogram *Khair-i-Jārī* gives the year A.H. 1024 (1615 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Jahāngīr who was at Ajmer in that year. As regards Gajhast Khān, we know that he was a superintendent of the elephant-stables under Jahāngīr.[1] He is also mentioned in connection with Mahābat Khān's *coup de main*.[2] Rogers and Beveridge in their translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* refer to him as Gajpat Khān,[3] while Shāh Nawāz Khān mentions his name as Gajhat Khān. Thanks to the present epigraph, we are now in a position to say that Gajhat Khān (of which Gajhat Khān is a corruption) is the correct title, while Gajpat Khān is merely a copyist's error.

Just near the Sabīlī gate leading to the Mausoleum is a grave which is inscribed in relief with the First Creed and a chronogram in Persian verse, recording the death in A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) of a person who is merely referred to as Kāfī. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq*

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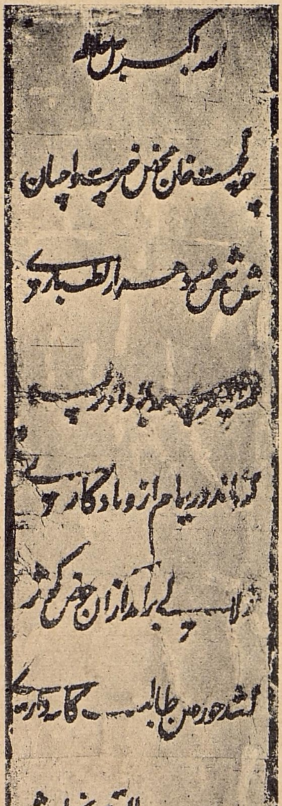
[1] Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 12, 24.

[2] Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 393, 395.

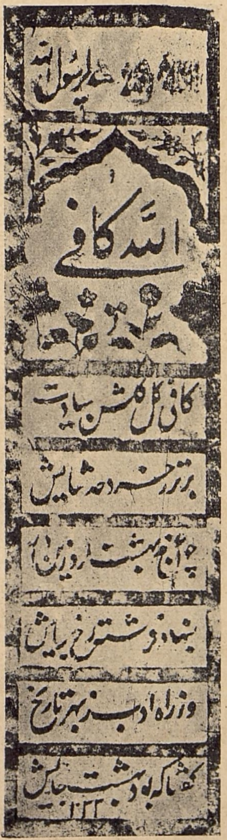
[3] The Persian text of the *Memoirs*, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, op. cit., p. 404, has, in fact, Gajhat Khān.—Ed.

(*a*) Inscription on a stepwell at Gangwana, dated A. H. 1024 (p. 57)



SCALE : ·1

(*b*) Epitaph, dated A. H. 1033, from Ajmer (p. 59)



SCALE : ·14

(*c*) Another epitaph, dated A. H. 1033, same place (p. 60)

SCALE : ·2

and the metre of the verse is a variation of *Hazaj*. The inscribed portion of the slab is cut into eight vertical panels: the first contains the fundamental formula of Islam as stated above, the second contains the words "الله کافی" (Allah is Sufficient), and the remaining six contain a hemistich each. The right, left and the head-side walls of the tomb are inscribed with verses from the *Qur'ān*. The epitaph reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد [ا]لرسول الله

(٢) الله کافی

(٣) کافی گل گلشن سیادت

(۴) برتر ز خرد حد ثنایش

(۵) چو عزم بهشت کرد زین دار

(٦) بنهاد فرشته رخ [به] پایش

(٧) و ز راه ادب ز بهر تاریخ

(٨) گفتا که بود بهشت جایش

١٠٣٣

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is His apostle.

(2) Allāh is Sufficient!

(3) Kāfī, the rose of the flower-garden of chiefship,

(4) whose eulogy transcends Reason,

(5) when he made up his mind to leave this world for paradise,

(6) Angel placed his head at his feet,

(7) and by way of respect said for chronogram,

(8) '*May paradise be his abode*!' (A.H.) 1033.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich gives A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) as the year of the death of Kāfī whose remains the tomb contains. That the occupant of the tomb was a Sayyid coming from a noble family is clear from the opening line of the inscription.

Just near the tomb of Muḥammed Wafā referred to above and at a short distance to the west of Khiḍkī Darwāza of the Mausoleum is a marble grave at the head of which is fixed a slab containing

an inscription, engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters, which contains religious text only. The grave itself bears an inscription in Persian giving the year of death of one Naṣru'llāh in a chronogram which yields A. H. 1033 (1623 A. D.) and is followed by the date, month and the day on which he died. This epitaph occupying the space of about 11″×6″ is inscribed in *Nasta'līq* letters. The two inscriptions have been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (c)

(*a*) *Head stone.*

(۱) نصر من الله و فتح قریب

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

TRANSLATION

(1) Help is from God and victory is near.

(2) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.

(*b*) *On the grave.*

(۱) آه از فوت ناگهان نصر الله

(۲) بتاریخ پنجم محرم الحرام روز دو شنبه

TRANSLATION

(1) *Alas for the unexpected death of Naṣru'llāh* ![1]

(2) (It took place) on Monday, the 5th Muḥarram.

We do not possess any information regarding the occupant of the grave, but Jahāngīr mentions one Naṣru'llāh who was given the rank of 700 with 400 horse on Sunday, the 14th Sha'bān A. H. 1017 (13th November, 1608 A. D.).[2] It is not unlikely that the grave is that of this Naṣru'llāh.

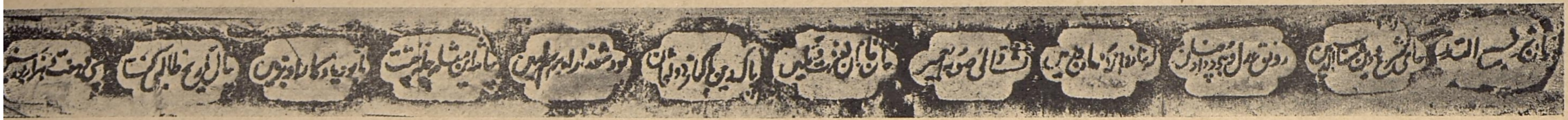
The Chilla-i-Chisht, now known as Chilla-i-Khwāja Ṣāḥib is situated on the Sadā Bahār hill near the famous Anāsāgar tank. It is said that the saint, on his arrival at Ajmer, took up his abode at this place and resided here till he moved to what was to be his last resting place. Over the entrance to the Chilla proper, there is fixed a marble slab measuring 5′1″×4″ which bears an inscription in Persian verse engraved in relief. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq*. The record comprises six verses contained in one line which is cut into twelve horizontal panels, each having a hemistich. The inscription states that the edifice of the Chilla was constructed at the behest of

[1] This constitutes the chronogram.

[2] Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 153.

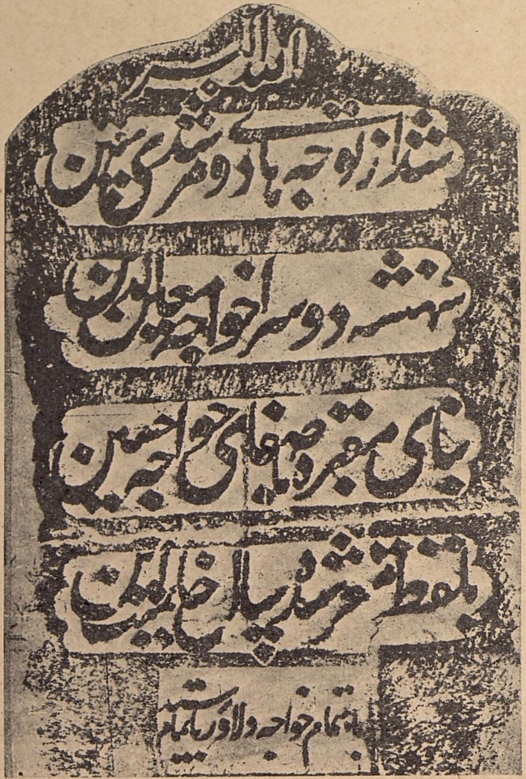
PLATE XVI

(*a*) Inscription of Shāh Jahān, dated A. H. 1037, from Ajmer (p. 61)



SCALE : ·15

(*b*) Inscription, dated A. H. 1047, same place (p. 62)



SCALE : ·14

(*c*) Inscription of a mosque, dated A. H. 1053, from the same place (p. 67)

SCALE : ·2

Daulat Khān, a revenue collector under Khān-i-Khānān Mahābat Khān. The inscription has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

بزمان شه رفیع القدر   حامی شرع و دین شهاب الدین

رونق عدل و جود داد چنان   که بنازد ازو زمان و زمین

گشت والی صوبهٔ اجمیر   خان خانان بعزت و تمکین

پاک دین پاکباز دولتخان   بود شقدار او برسم امین

ساخته این مقام چلهٔ چشت   تا بود یادگار او بزمین

سال تاریخ طالبی گفتا   سی و هفت و هزار بود سنین

TRANSLATION

During the reign of the king of sublime dignity, the protector of Law and Faith, Shihābu'd-Dīn (who)

imparted such splendour to equity and munificence that the age and the world take pride in him.

Khān-i-Khānān was appointed, with due honour and dignity, the governor of the province of Ajmer.

Pious and virtuous Daulat Khān was his revenue-collector in the capacity of an *amīn*.

He constructed this place, namely Chilla-i-Chisht so that it may serve as his memorial on the earth.

For its date Ṭālibī (*lit.*, a solicitor) said, 'The year was thirty-seven and one thousand'.

Zamān Baig Mahābat Khān was a Riḍawī Sayyid. His father Ghūr Baig came to Kabul from Shiraz and later on joined the service of Akbar, while Zamān Baig waited on prince Salīm who gave him the title of Mahābat Khān. When Shāh Jahān stopped at Ajmer on his way to Agra on the 17th Jumādī I, A. H. 1037 (14th January, 1628 A.D.), he conferred on him the title of Khān-i-Khānān and made him the governor of Ajmer.[1]

Behind the Shāh Jahānī Masjid and the Maḥfil Khāna is situated the tomb of Khwāja Ḥusain. Over its entrance, at a height of about 14 feet from the floor is fixed a slab of marble (1′ 8″ by 2′ 11″) containing an inscription of six lines of which the first merely comprises the words Allāhu Akbar,

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[1] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I, pt. i (Calcutta, 1866), p. 80 ; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ op. cit., p. 448; Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, p. 407.

(For inscriptions of the governorship of Mahābat Khān found at Nagaur and other places in Rajasthan, see *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 43 ; *E. I., A. & P. Suppl.*, 1955 and 56, p. 61.—Ed.)

the next four contain a fragment in Persian verse[1] recording the date of construction of Khwāja Ḥusain's tomb in A. H. 1047 (1637 A. D.) and the last one gives the name of the superintendent of the construction as Khwāja Dilāwar. The epigraph which is executed in *Nasta'līq* characters in relief may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (*b*)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) شد از توجه هادے و مرشدی بیقین

(۳) شهنشه دوسرا خواجه معین الدین

(۴) بنای مقبره با صفای خواجه حسین

(۵) بلفظ مغز شده سال خاتمیت این

(۶) باهتمام خواجه دلاور باتمام رسید

TRANSLATION

(1) God is great.

(2) By the favour of the guide and spiritual instructor for certain,

(3) the emperor of both the worlds (namely) Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn,

(4) the holy mausoleum of Khwāja Ḥusain was constructed.

(5) The year of its completion has been found in the word *Maghz* (marrow).

(6) It was completed under the supervision of Khwāja Dilāwar.

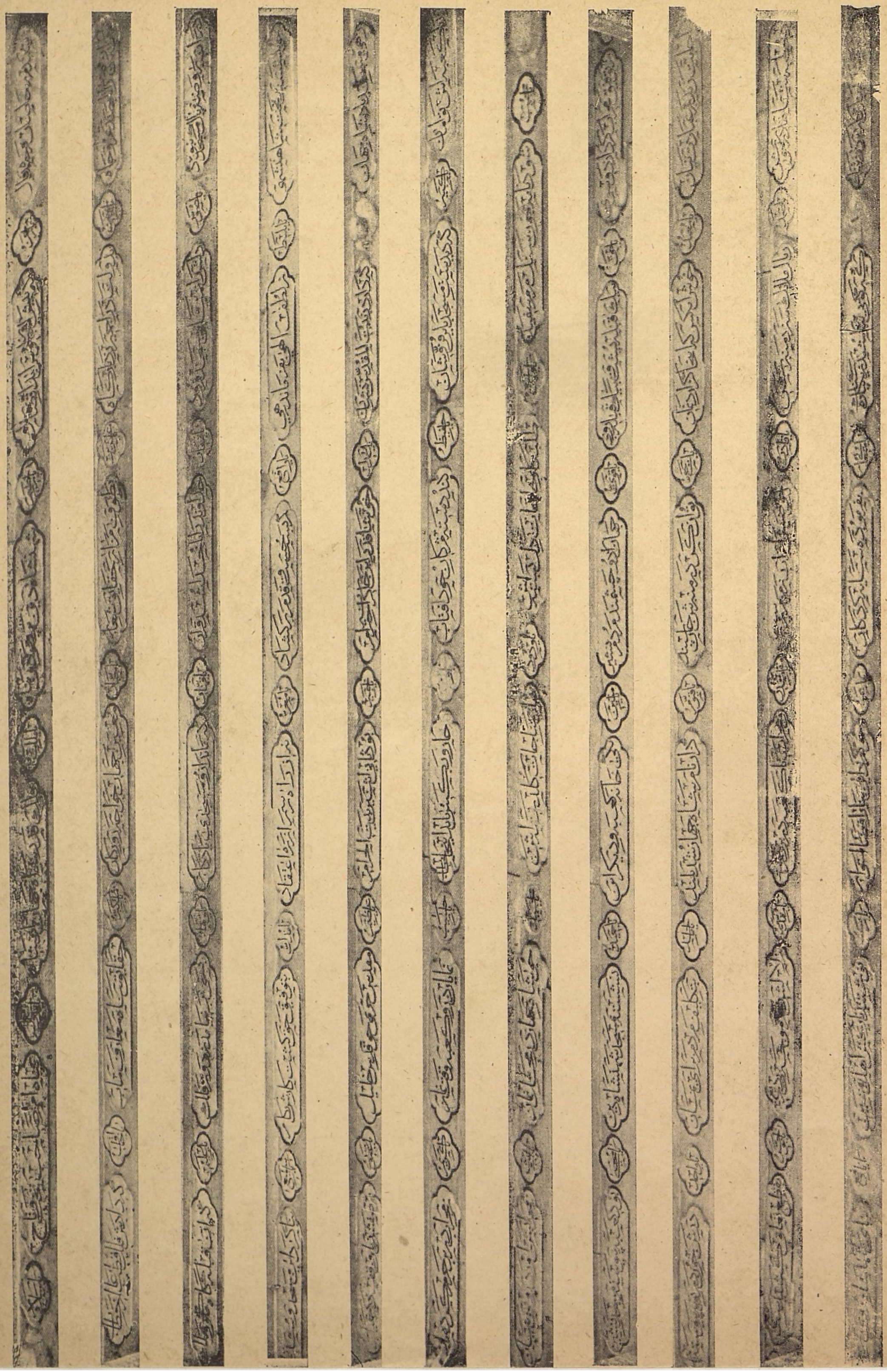
The word *Maghz*, according to the Abjad system, yields A. H. 1047 (1637 A.D.), as the date of construction. As regards Khwāja Ḥusain, a short notice has already been given above (p. 50). It may be pointed out in this connection that the tomb of Khwāja Ḥusain is a replica of the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn. The author of the *Mu'īnu'l-Auliyā* ascribes the construction of this shrine to Shāh Jahān.[2] As regards Khwāja Dilāwar, the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing his identity.

The Shāh Jahānī Masjid situated to the west of the Mausoleum is the most elegant mosque built in Ajmer during the Mughal period. The mosque proper measures 148 feet in length and 25 feet in width, having in front an enclosure measuring 156 feet by 53 feet. This enclosure, paved with polished marble, is surrounded on the south, north and east by an elegant balustrade having five entrances, one in the south, one in the north and the remaining three in the east, each reached by a flight of stairs. The mosque proper is on a plinth which is again led by a flight of stairs. Under the roof of the mosque there is an exterior row of eleven arched entrances running parallel to an interior row of the same number, all the twenty-two being identical to one another.

[1] The metre is a variant of *Mujtathth*.

[2] Imamud-Din, op. cit., p. 278.

PLATE XVII



Inscription from the Shāh Jahāni Masjid, Ajmer (p. 63)

The back-wall has five niches in which fundamental creeds of Islam are inscribed in letters of gole, Over the frieze of the facade there is an inscription in Persian verse inlaid with black marble occupying sixty-six horizontal panels; each panel contains a hemistich flanked by various attributes of God. The whole record runs into thirty-three verses of high quality. The inscription is in *Mat<u>h</u>nawī* form and the metre employed is a variation of *Mutaqārib*. The style of writing is *Nas<u>kh</u>* of a very high order. The text of this inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII

(۱) شنیدم ز خاصان فرخنده فال (یا رحمن)	که پیش از جلوس ابد اتصال (یا رحیم)
(۲) شهنشاه دین پرور دین پناه (یا ملک)	فلک قدر شاهجهان بادشاه (یا قدوس)
(۳) پناه امم صاحب تخت و تاج (یا سلام)	[که دارد شریعت بعهدش رواج] (......)
(۴) پس از فتح رانا بصد عز و جاه (یا مهیمن)	بدولت در اجمیر زد بارگاه (یا عزیز)
(۵) بطوف مزار حقایق شعار (یا جبار)	معین جهان خواجهٔ روزگار (یا متکبر)
(۶) حقایق پناه [و] معارف مآب (یا خالق)	که دادش فلک قطب عالم خطاب (......)
(۷) در آن روضهٔ پاک مسجد نبود (یا مصور)	دلش را تمنای مسجد فزود (یا غفار)
(۸) خداوند را با خدا شد قرار (یا قهار)	که ماند ازو مسجدی یادگار (یا وهاب)
(۹) بسی بر نیامد ز دور فلک (یا علیم)	که آن قبله گاه ملوک و ملک (......)
(۱۰) چو بنشست بر تخت شاهنشهی (یا باسط)	ز لطف الهی بفرماندهی (یا رافع)
(۱۱) کمر بست چست و قدم بر کشاد (یا معز)	نه از راه رسم از ره اعتقاد (یا مذل)
(۱۲) بتوفیق حق گشت کارش بکام (یا سمیع)	بنا کرد این مسجد و شد تمام (......)
(۱۳) زهی مسجد بادشاه جهان (......)	که دارد ز بیت المقدس نشان (یا عادل)
(۱۴) خوشا قدر این خانه کز احترام (یا خبیر)	بود ثانی اثنین بیت الحرام (یا عظیم)
(۱۵) مقدس حریمی چو قدس خلیل (یا غفور)	بوصفش زبان وقف ذکر جمیل (......)
(۱۶) [شما]رند با کعبه اش توامان (یا کبیر)	که دیدست مسجد باین فروشان (یا حفیظ)
(۱۷) کند دسته مژگان خرد آفتاب (......)	[که] جاروبکش باید اینجا خطاب (یا حسیب)
(۱۸) نمایان درو کعبه وقت نماز (یا کریم)	ز محراب در بر حرم کرده باز (......)
(۱۹) [بفرشش گذاری چو روی سپید] (یا مجیب)	شود نامه چو نگ مرمر سفید (یا واسع)
(۲۰) طلبگار حاجات دل بسته اش (یا ودود)	بهار مناجات گلدسته اش (یا مجید)
(۲۱) چو شاه جهان در محل نماز (یا باعث)	بمحرابش آورد روی نیاز (......)

(۲۲) ز توفیق محراب کرد از دو سوی (یا حق)   بیک قبله پشت و بیک قبله روی (یا قوی)

(۲۳) جهان را دو چشمند مردم نشین (یا متین)   یکی خانهٔ کعبه و دیگر این (یا جمیل)

(۲۴) نشسته بمسجد شهنشاه دین (یا محصی)   بود کعبه پیوسته مسجد نشین (......)

(۲۵) اجابت زند بر عبادت نیاز (یا معید)   خوش آنکس که اینجا گزارد نماز (یا حی)

(۲۶) توان کرد بر منبرش جان سپند (یا قیوم)   کزان نام شاه جهان شد بلند (یا ماجد)

(۲۷) بتکلیف مردم برای نماز (یا واحد)   درش چون در توبه پیوسته باز (......)

(۲۸) [بو]د خطبهٔ شاه تا در خورش (یا صمد)   ز بال ملایک سزد منبرش (یا قادر)

(۲۹) لب حوضش از آب زمزم پر ست (یا مقتدر)   ز محراب با کعبه در بر در است (یا مقدم)

(۳۰) ز لالش ز هر موجهٔ بی دریغ (یا موخر)   بقطع تعلق کشید ست تیغ (......)

(۳۱) ز سنگش چنان کارپرداز[1] تنگ (......)   که گوئی بناشد ز یکپاره سنگ (یا متعالی)

(۳۲) بفرمودهٔ سایهٔ کردگار (یا بر)   چو کرد این بنا را قضا استوار (یا رب)

۱۰۴۷

(۳۳) نوشتند تاریخش اهل یقین (یا نافع)   بنای شهنشاه روی زمین (......)

TRANSLATION[2]

(1) I have heard from the elite of happy omen that prior to (his) eternity-bound accession,

(2) Faith-cherishing refuge of the religion, of heavenly dignity, Shāh Jahān, the king,

(3) asylum of nations, lord of throne and crown, in whose reign the Divine Law prevails,

(4) after scoring victory over the Rānā, pitched up his tent at Ajmer with great dignita, pomp and felicity,

(5) for paying a visit to the shrine of the truthful Mu'īn (helper) of the world, Khwāja (lord) of the age,

(6) the refuge of truths, the receptacle of divine knowledge to whom the heaven oas awarded the title of Quṭb-i-'Ālam (the pole-star of the world).

(7) (As) there was no mosque in (the enclosure of) that holy mausoleum, a desire for (constructing) mosque arose in his heart (then).

(8) In between the lord (*i.e.*, Shāh Jahān) and God it was ratified that there should be a mosque in memory of him.

(9) Many revolutions of the sphere were not over when that altar of monarchs and angels

(10) occupied the seat of emperorship and sovereignty, through divine favour,

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[1] From the illustration the reading appears to be "کار بر در ز تنگ".—Ed.

[2] Translation of the invocation of God by His Attributes has been omitted.

(11) girded up his loins and went ahead, not by way of formality, but through sincere intention (to put his desire into reality).

(12) By the grace of God, the work was done as desired. He laid the foundation of this mosque and it was completed.

(13) How excellent is the mosque of the king of the world which bears a stamp of the *Baitu'l-Muqaddas* ![1]

(14) How happy is the dignity of this house that on account of its sanctity, it is the second of the two (*i.e.*, companion) of the Holy House (*i.e.*, Ka'ba).

(15) It is a sacred shrine like the sanctuary of Abraham ; the tongue is dedicated to honourable mention for its description.

(16) It is considered a twin of Ka'ba ; who has beheld a mosque with such splendour and grandeur ?

(17) The sun makes a bundle out of its eyelashes[2] in order that he might get the honorific of 'sweeper' at this place.

(18) The Ka'ba is visible therein at the time of prayer, having opened the door of the niche towards the Holy Sanctuary.

(19) When you rub your white face[3] on its floor, your book of deeds becomes as white as marble.[4]

(20) The indigent seeker has his heart attached therein ; its *guldasta* is the spring-time of prayers.

(21) When the king of the world (Shāh-i-Jahān) turned the face of supplication towards its niche, at the time of prayer,

(22) through Divine guidance, he made an altar on both the sides : he turned his face to one (*i.e.*, the *qibla* in the mosque) and his back to the other (*i.e.*, the Mausoleum).[5]

(23) The world has two lovely[6] eyes : one is the house of Ka'ba and the other is this (*i.e.*, the mosque).

(24) The emperor of the faith sits in the mosque ; may the Ka'ba (*i.e.*, Shāh Jahān) occupy the mosque for ever.[7]

(25) (Here) in the mosque prayer is favoured with response[8] ; (therefore) happy is one who offers prayers here !

---

1 *Baitu'l-Muqaddas* literally means Holy House and is the name given to the mosque in Jerusalem.

2 The sun prepares a broom out of its rays.

3 *Sapīd Rū* means 'fortunate'.

4 Becoming white of the book of actions as against its being black means that the sins are washed away.

5 The subject in the verse is " محراب " and the translation would be: Through Divine favour, the niche (was honoured) bothways; it had its back to one *qibla* (i.e., Ka'ba) and its face to another (i.e., Shāh Jahān).—Ed.

6 *Lit.*, sitting in the pupil. (The meaning of the first hemistich is rather this : There are two eyes which sit in the pupil of the world, that is to say, there are two things in the world which it holds very dear. as one does the pupils of his eyes. The point here is that usually the pupil sits in the eye, but here the eyes sit in the pupil which means that the intended eyes are so precious that they are held dear even by the pupils.—Ed.)

7 It may perhaps be better translated thus : The king of the religion sitting in the mosque (is, as if) the Ka'ba is sitting for ever in the mosque.—Ed.

8 The idea is that the prayers offered in this mosque are accepted.

(26) The soul can be burned as incense at its pulpit from which the name of king of the world (Shāh-i-Jahān) is raised.[1]

(27) To the throng of people to offer prayers (here) its gate is always open as is the gate of penitence.

(28) In order that the sermon of the king may be worthy of it, it is befitting that its pulpit should be made out of the wings of angels.

(29) Its reservoir is full to the brim with the water of *Zam Zam*[2]; it is door to door[3] with Ka'ba through its niche.

(30) Its limpid water has (so to say) drawn a sword of wave in order to sever relations (with every thing mundane).

(31) The architect, on account of (the setting of) its stones is in such a fix (that he wonders)[4] if it was carved out of a single piece.

(32) Since at the behest of the Shadow of God (*i.e.*, the king), destiny raised this edifice,

(33) men of faith recorded for its chronogram the words : *the edifice of the emperor of the surface of the world.* 1047 (A.H.).

It is evident from the inscription that Shāh Jahān had thought of constructing this mosque several years before his accession to the throne. This is confirmed by the fact that while yet prince Khurram, he had, after scoring a victory over the Rānā of Udaipur, appeared in the court of Jahāngīr then at Ajmer, on Sunday, the 20th Muḥarram A. H. 1024 (9th February, 1615 A. D.)[5] when he first conceived the idea of constructing the mosque. On his way to Agra, on the 17th Jumādī I, A. H. 1037 (14th January, 1628 A. D.) he went to the shrine on foot like his father and grand father and issued orders for the building of a marble mosque in fulfilment of a vow which he had

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[1] The allusion is to the reading of the sermon, containing the reigning monarch's name from the pulpit. (The idea contained in the verse is this : The pulpit, because it is the place from which the king's name is recited in sermons, is entitled to command such a high respect that if the soul is burnt before it after the fashion of the incense which is burnt as a mark of deep veneration and devoted offering, it is only proper.—Ed.)

[2] Hagar's well at Mecca.

[3] The idea is that it is very close to Ka'ba. (I think, the phrase "در بردر" is composed of two parts : "در بر" meaning 'in embrace with' and "در" redundant preposition.—Ed.)

[4] See my note 1 on p. 64, where I have pointed out that the photograph of the inscription has clearly "کار بر درز" and not "کار پرداز". Even if we read "کار پرداز" as Mr. Tirmizi has done (following probably Akbar Jahān, op. cit., and others), the meaning of this verse is not clear. Why should the architect be in a fix on account of the setting of its stone and wonder if it was carved out of a single piece ? He could be in a fix if it were otherwise ; but that is not the case here, since it appeared as if it was carved out of one piece. The fact is that the correct reading of the hemistich seems to be "ز سنگش چنان کار بُردرز تنگ" in which case, the meaning of the whole verse would be 'The joints of the stone have been so overpressed (*i.e.*, finely set together) that you may say it was carved out of one single piece'. That is to say, though the reservoir (or other parts of the mosque) have been built of different slabs of marble, they have been so finely attached together that no trace of the joints remains and hence an *onlooker* is led to think that perphaps the whole thing was carved out of one piece.—Ed.

[5] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, op. cit., vol. I, p. 91 ; Jahāngīr, op. cit., vol. I, p. 273.

taken at the time of the Mewar campaign.[1] According to 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, the cost of building the mosque came to rupees forty thousand only.[2] According to the same authority, the emperor laid the foundation of the mosque, comprising eleven arches, the mosque proper measuring 55×10 cubits and the open space 60×14 yards. An order was also issued that the far-sighted architects and skilful sculptors should build it entirely from marble.[3] The above inscription also refers to the reservoir of water which is now called Jhalra.

The inscription also states that since there was no mosque in the holy mausoleum, Shāh Jahān thought of building one (v. 7). This, however, is not confirmed by historical evidence. It has been stated above that Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa had built a mosque near the Mausoleum in A. H. 860 (1455 A. D.),[4] while emperor Akbar had added a mosque, now called Akbarī Masjid, in about A. H. 977 (1569 A. D.).[5] The year A. H. 1047 (1637 A. D.), the date of completion of the mosque, is confirmed by other sources also. For example, Bībadal Khān alias Sa'īdā-i-Gīlānī, and Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, Shāh Jahān's poet-laureate, composed a chronogram and a *qaṣīda* respectively celebrating the construction of the mosque.[6] However, it is curious to note that 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd states that this mosque was already completed when Shāh Jahān visited Ajmer on the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 1046 (25th November, 1636 A. D.).[7]

Just opposite the Motī Kaṭra in the Dargāh Bāzār, there is a mosque built of red sand-stone. On its central miḥrāb is fixed an inscriptional tablet cut into three horizontal panels. The first panel gives in words the year A. H. 1053 (A. D. 1643), which obviously indicates the date of the construction of the mosque. The second contains the First Creed and the third the words 'Mosque of Mīa (Mainā or Mīnā) Bāi. The texts in the first and the third panels are executed in *Nasta'līq*, while that in the middle one is in *Naskh*. The slab, which is of marble, measures 24″×10″. The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (*c*)

(۱) در سنه هزار و پنجاه و سه

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله مسجد میا بائے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year one thousand and fifty-three.

(2) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is His apostle.

(3) Mosque of Miā (Mainā or Mīnā) Bā'i.

---

1 Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 304 ; 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., vol. I, pt. i, p. 80.

2 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 224.

3 *Ibid.*, pt. i, p. 80.

4 Supra, p. 44.

5 Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 511.

6 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 225. For the *qaṣīda* of Kalīm, please see Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīkh* (Kanpur, 1867), p. 362.

7 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., pt. ii, p. 224.

About Miā Bā'i we possess no information.[1] But from the suffix "بائی" to the name, it appears that she belonged to the class of Kalāwants (or musicians). If so, it provides us with an interesting piece of information that the vicinity of the Dargāh was then populated by a number of musician families, some members of which (as for example the daughter of Tān Sain) consructed mosques.

The S͟hāh Jahānī gateway that leads to the Mausoleum is popularly known by three names: Kalima Darwāza, because the fundamental formula of Islam is inscribed on it in golden letters; S͟hāh Jahānī Darwāza, because the inscription on it is dated in the reign of emperor S͟hāh Jahān; and Naqqār K͟hāna, because on the gateway are kept two pairs of big drums.[2]

Over the gateway is fixed a marble slab measuring 8′×1′ 8″ at a height of about 18 feet from the floor. The slab contains an inscription comprising the First Creed and a Persian verse stating that 'during the reign of S͟hāh Jahān, the sun of Faith completely removed the darkness of Infidelity'. The slab also bears the Hijra year and the regnal one, which are A. H. 1065 (1654 A. D.) and 29 respectively. The Creed which is inscribed in the middle panel is executed in *T͟hult͟h* characters, while the hemistiches occurring in the first and the third panels are engraved in *Nask͟h*. The inscription reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (*a*)

(*a*) *Middle.*

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ۱۰۶۵

(*b*) *Sides.*

بعهد شاهجهان بادشاه دین پرور   ز دوده ظلمت کفر آفتاب دین یکسر   سنه ۲۹

---

[1] We do come across a certain Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī in an inscription occurring on the building known as C͟hauburjī, situated on the Multan Road in Lahore in West Pakistan. According to this epigraph, a garden—to which the aforesaid building is said to have formed an entrance—was bestowed upon Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī through the favours of 'the elegant master, the Begum of the age':

"بگشت مرحمت این باغ بر میان بائی   ز لطف صاحب زیبنده بیگم دوران"

(In the text of this reading, quoted in Dr. Muhammad Baqir, 'The Tomb of Zibun Nisa', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, vol. 28, no. 4, August 1952, p. 2, the name of the grantee is printed "میان بائی" but as the text of another inscription on the northern minār of the same building, as given in *ibid*. has

"ساخت میا بائی چون روضهٔ عالی ارم"

and also, since Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Taḥqīqāt-i-C͟his͟htī*, Lahore, A. H. 1324, p. 570 and Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: its History, Architectural remains and antiquities* etc., Lahore, 1892, have given the name as "مرمیا بائی" and "میا بائی"—Miyā or Mayā Bā'ī respectively, there is little doubt that the correct name is "میا بائی" and not "میان بائی"). The C͟hauburjī appears to have been constructed in A. H. 1056 (1646 A. D.) as mentioned in another inscription (*ibid*).

As regards the identity of Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī, Chishti, op. cit., p. 570, and Latif, op. cit., p. 190, the latter probably following the former, speak of Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī as the wet-nurse and favourite female attendant, respectively, of Princess Zaibu'n-Nisā, daughter of emperor Aurangzeb. According to their account, which is claimed to have been based on the *S͟hāh Jahān Nāma* of Ḍarg͟hāmu'd-Dawla, an untraceable work, it was this Princess who bestowed the above-mentioned garden upon Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī who was responsible for supervising its construction. (For further details, please see Baqir, op. cit.)

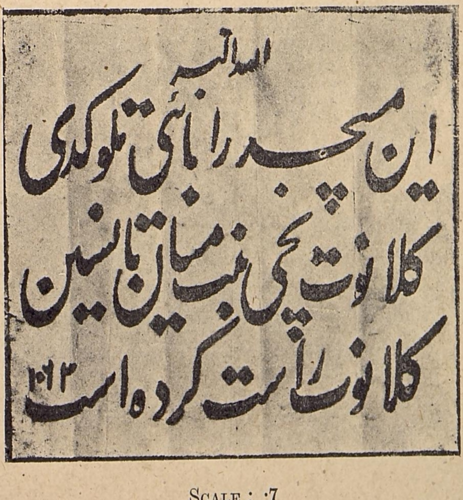
Any way, it is very likely that Miyā (or Mayā) Bā'ī of both the Lahore and the Ajmer inscriptions is one and the same person.—Ed.

[2] It is commonly believed that the larger of the two drums was presented to the shrine by Akbar from the spoils of Chitor. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 454, mentions it as having come from the spoils of Bengal.

Inscription on the Shāh Jahānī Gateway, Ajmer, dated A. H. 1065 (p. 68)

SCALE : ·07

(*b*) Inscription, dated A. H. 1062, same place (p. 69)



SCALE : ·7

TRANSLATION

(*a*) There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is His apostle. (A.H.) 1065.

(*b*) During the reign of Shāh Jahān, the religion-cherishing king, the sun of Faith has wiped away the darkness of infidelity completely. Year 29 (=A. H. 1065 or 1654 A. D.).

From the text, it is evident that the inscription commemorates the victory of Shāh Jahān over some Indian chief most probably in Rajputana. Shāh Nawāz Khān informs us that Shāh Jahān paid a visit to the holy shrine in the 28th regnal year *i.e.*, A. H. 1064 (1653 A. D.). It was at this time that the emperor sent ‘Allāmī Sa‘du'llāh Khān to Chitor in order to demolish the fortifications built by Rānā Rāj Singh, son of Rānā Jagat Singh. The same authority adds that Sa‘du'llāh Khān returned victorious after demolishing the old and new fortifications and bastions.[1] It is very likely that the present gateway was built as a memorial for the successful outcome of this campaign.

Just opposite the police station in the Dargāh Bāzār, there is a mosque which bears a very important inscription in Persian verse engraved in relief on a marble slab (1′ 2″×14″) appearing over the central miḥrāb at the height of about 13 feet from the floor. The script employed is *Nasta‘līq*. The inscription states that the mosque was built in A. H. 1063 (1652 A. D.) by Bā'i Tilokdī Kalāwant whom the epigraph states to be the daughter of Miān Tān Sain. The record has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (*b*)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) این مسجد را بائی تلوکدی

(۳) کلانوت[2] بچی بنت میان تان سین

(۴) کلانوت[2] راست کرده است ۱۰۶۳

TRANSLATION

(1) God is great.

(2) This mosque, by Bāi Tilokdī

(3) Kalāwant Bachchī (musician), daughter of Miān Tān Sain

(4) Kalāwant (in the year) A. H. 1063 (1652 A. D.), has been erected.

---

[1] Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. II, p. 447.

[2] Probably engraver's mistake for "کلاونت".

Thanks to this inscription, we now know that Tilokdī (Trilok Devī) was the name of the daughter of Tān Sain and that she was a musician like her father. Abu'l-Faḍl has given a short notice of Miān Tān Sain (1544-1589 A. D.), the renowned musician of the court of Akbar. He mentions the name of Tān Sain's son as Tantarang Khān,[1] while according to 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, the name of his son was Bilās.[2] Nowhere in the available material the name of his daughter is to be found.

[1] Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 681.

[2] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, op. cit., vol. II, p. 5.

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